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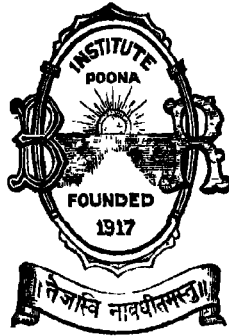
Government Oriental Series--Class B, No. 1

COLLECTED WORKS

OF

SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR

VOL. I

COMPRISING MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES, REVIEWS, ADDRESSES &c.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. I

PREFACE

The present volume of R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, which is the last to be published although it is the first in the series, is being issued on the occasion of the seventh death-anniversary of Dr. Bhandarkar, which falls on the Ṛṣipañcamī day of the Hindu Calendar and which is observed at the B.O.R. Institute as a day of piety when literary tributes are offered to the memory of the revered departed, including special lectures by distinguished scholars. The Institute itself submits on this day an account of its literary labours during the preceding twelve months as a kind of "Vāṅmaya-śrāddha". The Indexes to this Volume are the work of Mr. G. N. Shrigondekar, B. A., of the Publication Department of the Institute. It is unfortunate that this Volume is appearing without a life of the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar of Calcutta, the son of Sir Ramkrishna, was to write the biography, but continued ill health has come in the way of his carrying out the pledge — a circumstance which nobody regrets more than he himself. It is still more unfortunate that the original editor of these Volumes, Mr. N. B. Utgikar, M. A., has not lived to see the edition completed. Sir Ramkrishna had, however, personally supervised the collection and arrangement of the works included in these Volumes. The completion of the edition of the collected writings of a scholar who was remarkable for the wide range of his researches as well as for his originality, for his penetration as well as his catholicity, takes off from the Institute a heavy responsibility which it had undertaken nearly ten years ago and the Publication Department of the Institute has reasons to feel a sense of relief as well as gratification on the present occasion. A memoir of the author and a general index of all his works are still a desideratum and it is to be hoped that a fifth volume containing them may eventually be offered to the public in the fullness of time.

Poona,
Ṛṣipañcamī, Śake 1854
5th Sept. 1932

V. G. PARANJPE

A PEEP INTO THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE MAURYA DYNASTY TO THE DOWNFALL OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTA DYNASTY

(B.C. 322—*circa* 500 A.D.)

[FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1900, VOL. XX, pp. 356 ff.]

Also printed in a Book form in 1920 by Messrs Taraporevalla, Bombay, with a Preface by H. G. Rawlinson, this reprint bearing the additional note: "This article consists of a lecture read in March last (1910)—[*sic.* 1900 ?] before a Poona audience, but afterwards considerably amplified." The Poona audience referred to consisted most probably of a meeting held under the auspices of the (now defunct) Friends' Liberal Association.—N. B. U.

INTRODUCTORY.

I think I may take it for granted that an Indian who has received English education and has been introduced to the ancient history of European countries, naturally has a desire to be acquainted with the ancient history of his own country, to know by whom and how that country was governed in ancient times, or how its social and religious institutions have grown up, and what revolutions the country has gone through ; but means for the satisfaction of this desire are wanting. India unfortunately has no written history There are some chronicles written by Jains and others, referring to kings and princes who lived from about the eighth to the eleventh centuries of the Christian era and ruled ov r Gujrat and Rajputana. There are also lives of individual kings such as

the Śrī-Harṣacarita of Bāṇa and the Vikramāṅkadevacarita of Bilhaṇa. The hero of the former ruled over Northern India in the first half of the seventh century, and of the latter, over Southern India in the latter part of the eleventh and the early part of the twelfth century. The Purāṇas contain genealogies of certain dynasties. With these exceptions, sometime ago we had absolutely no knowledge of the history of the different provinces of India before the foundation of the Mahomedan Empire. But the researches of European and some Native scholars and antiquarians have thrown considerable light over this dark period. The knowledge hitherto gathered cannot be pronounced to be very satisfactory or to be as good as written books would have supplied. Still, it is sufficient to give us a general idea of the political, social and religious movements that took place from remote times to the arrival of the Mahomedans. The materials for these researches I shall here shortly describe.

First—Gold, silver and copper coins of ancient kings are found in all parts of the country, especially in Northern India, when old mounds composed of the ruins of buildings are dug out. These coins bear certain emblems, and also legends in ancient characters containing the names of the princes who issued them, and sometimes of their fathers, with occasionally the date of their issue. From these we derive a knowledge of the kings and dynasties that ruled over the provinces in which the coins are found.

Secondly—We find inscriptions engraved on rocks and columns and on the remains of ancient temples wherein occur the names of princes, and sometimes of the provinces ruled over or conquered by them. In the case of temples and other benefactions we have the names of the donors, their profession, the description of the nature of their gift, and sometimes the name of the king in whose reign the gift was made. Again, we find in digging old ruins, charters of land-grants made by princes, inscribed on plates of copper. The grants therein recorded were made to individual Brahmins or to temples or to Buddhistic Vihāras. These copper-

plate inscriptions often give a full genealogy of the dynasty to which the grantor belonged, together with the most notable events in the reign of each of the princes belonging to the dynasty. Often-times, there is a mere vague praise of the different kings which can have no historical value, but one who possesses a little critical power, can without much difficulty distinguish between what is historically true and what is not. A very large number of such grants have been found in our own Maratha country, in consequence of which we have been able to construct a sort of continuous political history from about the beginning of the sixth century to the time of the Mahomedan invasion.

Thirdly—Another important source consists in the writings of foreigners who visited this country or obtained information about it from others. The invasion of Alexander the Great brought the Greeks in communication with India, and after his death his general Seleukos who obtained the province of Syria kept up a regular intercourse with a king who is called Sandrakottos by the Greeks, who reigned at Pāṭaliputra, and at whose court resided an ambassador of Seleukos of the name of Megasthenes. The work of Megasthenes, though not extant, was abridged by other writers, and in this form it has come down to us. Then we have Ptolemy's geography which was written between 151 and 163 A.D., the date of his death. He gives the names of Indian towns and sometimes of the princes who reigned there at the time. Similarly we have got another work called the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea whose author is unknown. He too gives valuable geographical and historical information. After Buddhism had penetrated into China, several Chinese pilgrims visited India from time to time, and have left us an account of what they saw. Such are Fa-Hian, Sung-yun, Hieun Tsiang, and I-tsing. The Mahomedans who visited the country in later times have also left us similar works. Besides the information given by these writers about the people, their literature, and their kings, what is of the highest value is the help they afford in determining the dates of events in India, For, all these foreigners had good systems of chronology.

Besides these, some of the later Sanskrit and vernacular works contain what are called Praśastis or historical accounts of princes in whose reign they were composed, and sometimes of the dynasties to which they belonged.

These are the authorities for the political history of the country; but the history of thought as well as of religious and social institutions is to be gathered from the literature itself, which is vast. But though it is vast, still older works calculated to enable us to solve many a problem in literary and social history have perished.

In using all these materials, however, one should exercise a good deal of keen critical power. No one who does not possess this power can make a proper use of them. A good many years ago, I delivered a lecture on the critical and comparative method of study, which has been published[1]. To what I have stated there, I shall only add that in dealing with all these materials, one should proceed on such principles of evidence as are followed by a judge. One must in the first place be impartial, with no particular disposition to find in the materials before him something that will tend to the glory of his race and country, nor should he have an opposite prejudice against the country or its people. Nothing but dry truth should be his object; and he should in every case determine the credibility of the witness before him and the probability or otherwise of what is stated by him. He should ascertain whether he was an eye-witness or a contemporary witness, and whether in describing a certain event he himself was not open to the temptation of exaggeration or to the influence of the marvellous None of the current legends should be considered to be historically true, but an endeavour should be made to find any germ of truth that there may be in them by evidence of another nature.

THE MAURYAS (UPTO THE ACCESSION OF AŚOKA.)

I shall now proceed to give a short sketch of the history of India as determined by the critical use of these materials. As I have already observed, the Purāṇas give lists of kings, who, they say in

1 Printed in this volume later.

prophetic language, will reign in the future. In consequence of the corruption of manuscripts there are a great many discrepancies in the lists as given in different works of that class. Besides, there is no chronological clue whatever to be found in them We will, therefore, begin with that dynasty of which we have intimation elsewhere, and with that king whose date can be determined by unimpeachable evidence. Candragupta is mentioned as the founder of the Maurya dynasty. He is said to have uprooted the family of the Nandas who ruled before him and to have been assisted by a Brahmin of the name of Cāṇakya. He is one of those whose memory has been preserved by both Buddhist and Brahmanic writers. We have a dramatic play in which his acquisition of the throne through the help of Cāṇakya is alluded to. Buddhistic works also give similar accounts about him. The grammarian Patañjali alludes to the Mauryas and speaks of a Candragupta-sabhā. In an inscription, dated in the year 72, which has been referred to the Śaka era and is consequently equivalent to 150 A.D., Candragupta the Maurya is spoken of as having caused a certain tank to be constructed; and we have contemporary evidence also of the existence of the king and of his acquisition of the throne in the writings of Greek authors. They speak of Candragupta as being an ambitious man in his youth, and as having been present in the Panjab at the time of Alexander's invasion. He is said to have freed the country from the Macedonian yoke, to have fought with Seleukos, who had obtained the Syrian province of the Alexandrian empire, and to have finally concluded a treaty with him. Seleukos sent an ambassador to his court of the name of Megasthenes. From this connection of Candragupta with Seleukos, we have been able to determine the date of his accession, which is about 322 B.C.. Candragupta's capital was Pāṭaliputra, which is represented by Greek writers to have been situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Erannoboas, which last corresponds to our Hiraṇyabāhā. Hiraṇyabāhā was another name of the Śoṇa, and Patañjali speaks of Pāṭaliputra as situated on the banks of the Śoṇa[1]. His (Candragupta's) successor, according

1 अनुशोणं पाटलिपुत्रम् । Mahābhāṣya, Kielhorn's Edn, Vol. 1, p. 380.

to one Purāṇa, was Bindusāra, and, according to another, Bhadrasāra. He is mentioned also in Buddhistic works, but the name does not occur in any inscription or foreign writing. His son was called Aśoka. This is a very important name in the ancient history of the whole of India, and as the connection of the prince with Buddhism was close, and that religion plays an important part in the general history of India, I must here give a short account of it.

RISE OF BUDDHISM—ITS DOCTRINES AND AIMS.

After the Indian Āryas had established the system of sacrificial religion fully, their speculation took its start from the sacrifice. Every thing was identified with some sacrificial operation. The gods are represented in the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛgveda, X. 90) to have sacrificed the primordial Puruṣa, from whom thus sacrificed, arose the whole creation. Brahman is a word which in the Ṛksaṁhitā means a particular mantra or verse addressed to a god, or that sort of power from which one is able to compose such a mantra. Thence it came to signify the true power or virtue in a sacrifice, or its essence; and when the whole universe was regarded as produced from a kind of sacrifice, its essence also came to be named Brahman. There was at the same time religious and philosophical speculation upon an independent basis starting from the self-conscious soul. In the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā we have several philosophical hymns, and the speculation which they indicate ran on in its course, and the results of it we have in the Upaniṣads. In the celebrated hymn beginning with Nāsadāsīnno sadāsīt[1] it is represented that in the darkness which enveloped the whole world in the beginning, that which was wrapped up in the Unsubstantial, developed through the force of brooding energy, and there arose in it a Desire which is spoken of as the first germ of the mind. This idea that our worldly existence, with its definite modes of thinking is the result of desire, developed in a variety of ways. This appears to be the idea adopted or appropriated by Buddhism, and one sense of the name Māra—the Buddhistic Prince of Darkness—is Kāma or desire. Of the four noble truths of Buddhism the first is misery (Duḥkha),

1 Ṛgveda, X. 129.

and the second, the origin of misery. This is thirst or desire. If, therefore, the misery of worldly existence is due to desire, the conclusion follows that, in the words of the Kaṭha Upaniṣad, by uprooting your desire you are free from misery and attain immortality and eternal bliss[1]. This is the third of the noble truths. But immortality or eternal bliss one can speak of, when one regards the soul as something different from and lying beyond the mind or thoughts which have been set in motion by desire. When, however, the existence of such a thing beyond the mind or thought is denied, the condition of eternal bliss when thought has ceased, means, what some people call annihilation. In one of the sections of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, which Upaniṣad and the Chāndogya, might be regarded as collections of the speculations of various Ṛṣis, there occurs a passage which comes very near to the denial of the soul as a separate substance. "Yājñavalkya," says Ārtabhāga, the son of Jaratkāru, "when the speech of a man or Puruṣa who is dead, goes to Agni or fire, his breath to the wind, his sight to the sun, his mind to the moon, his power of hearing to the quarters, the body to the earth, and the self to the Ākāśa or ether, the hairs of his body to the herbs, and the hairs on the head to the trees, and the blood and seminal fluid are placed in the waters where does the Puruṣa exist?" Yājñavalkya answers "Ārtabhāga give me your hand. We alone shall know of this and not the people here." So then they went out and conversed with each other, and what they spoke of was Karma (deeds), and what they praised was Karma. He who does meritorious Karma or deeds, becomes holy, and he who does sinful deeds, becomes sinful. With this Ārtabhāga, the son of Jaratkāru, was satisfied and remained silent.[2] Here it will be seen that the different parts, of which man is composed are represented as being dissolved into the different parts of the Cosmos, and what remains is the Karma. The ideas therefore involved in this dialogue are three:- (1) That the soul is not a substance separate from the component parts of a human being;

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[1] यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि स्थिताः ।
अथ मर्त्योऽमृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते ॥ Kaṭha Up. VI. 14.

[2] Bṛ. Ār. Up. III. 2. 13-14.

(2) that what renders transmigration or the production of a new being possible is the Karma, and (3) that according to the nature of the previous Karma, is the nature of the new being, holy or sinful. The third idea is common to all Hindu systems of philosophy or religion; but the first two are heterodox, and must have been considered so when the dialogue was composed, since it was to avoid the shock which the exposition of such doctrines would cause, that Yājñavalkya retires from the assembly and speaks to Ārtabhāga alone. Still the ideas had been developed in the time of the Upaniṣad and were adopted by Buddhism. In the celebrated dialogue between the Greek king Milinda or Menander of Sākala, and Nāgasena, a Buddhist Saint, the king asks: "How is your reverence known? What is your name?". Nāgasena replies: "I am called Nāgasena by my parents, the priests, and others. But Nāgasena is not a separate entity." And going on further in this way, Nāgasena gives an instance of the chariot in which the king came, and says: "As the various parts of a chariot when united form the chariot, so the five Skandhas [1] when united in one body, form a being or living existence." Here we see that as there is nothing like a chariot independently of its parts, so there is nothing like a man independently of the various elements of which he is composed. Further on in the same book we have:— "The king said, 'What, is it Nāgasena that is re-born?' 'Name-and-form is re-born'. 'What, is it this same name-and-form that is re-born?' 'No; but by this name-and-form deeds are done, good and evil, and by these deeds (this Karma) another name-and-form is re-born.'" [2] In the external world also the Buddhist believes in the existence of no substance. To him all knowledge is phenomenal, and this is what appears to be meant by the doctrine that every thing is Kṣaṇika or momentary.

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1 The five Skandhas are Rūpa, physical constituents, Vijñāna, self-consciousness, Vedanā, feeling of pleasure or pain, Saṁjñā, name, and Saṁskāra, love, hatred, and infatuation These five constitute the human being.

2 नामरूप or name-and-form is equivalent to the five Skandhas of which a living being is composed. The expression, therefore, signifies a living individual;

But it was not the metaphysical doctrines of Buddhism that influenced the masses of the people. What proved attractive was its ethical side. The Buddhist preachers discoursed on Dharma or righteousness to the people. Such discourses on Dharma without the introduction of any theistic idea have their representatives in the Brahmanic literature. In many of the episodes of the Mahābhārata, especially in the Śānti and Anuśāsanika books, we have simple ethical discourses without any reference to God, of the nature of those we find in Buddhistic works; and sometimes the verses in the Mahābhārata, are the same as those occuring in the latter. There appears to be at one time a period in which the thoughts of the Hindus were directed to the delineation of right conduct in itself without any theistic bearing. And Buddhism on its ethical side represents that phase. Right conduct is the last of the four noble truths of Buddhism. The origin of misery alluded to above is destroyed by what is called the Eight-fold Path—*viz.*, right views, right resolve, right speech, right action, right living, right effort, right self-knowledge, right contemplation.[1] Thus the Buddhistic gospel is, that righteous conduct is the means of the destruction of suffering, which may end in positive happiness or not, according as one regards his soul as substantial or phenomenal. It was this phase of Buddhism that, with the strenuous efforts of the missionaries and of the Emperor Aśoka, enabled it to achieve success amongst the masses of the people; and what was wanting on the theistic side, was supplied by the perfection and marvellous powers attributed to the founder of the religion. Without this faith in the perfection or, what we should call, the divine nature of Buddha, a mere ethical religion would probably not have succeeded. Buddhism was not a social revolution as has been thought by some writers. It was a religion established and propagated by persons

[1] सम्यग्दृष्टिः, सम्यक्संकल्पः, सम्यग्वाक्, सम्यक्कर्मान्तः, सम्यगाजीवः, सम्यग्व्यायामः सम्यक्स्मृतिः, सम्यक्समाधिश्च। The true sense of (7) has, it appears to me, not yet been correctly given. Smṛti is remembrance of what a man's true condition is; being blinded to it, is Smṛtivibhrama or Smṛtibhraṁśa, Bhag. G. ii. 63. Seeing where one's course of conduct is leading one, and remembering what one ought to do is Smṛti, and that is awakened in one by God; *Ibid.* xv. 15. When infatuation disappears, Smṛti returns; *Ibid.* xviii. 73.

who had renounced the world and professed not to care for it. From times of old there existed in the Indian community such persons, who were called Śramaṇas and belonged originally to all castes. These gave themselves to contemplation and sometimes propounded doctrines of salvation not in harmony with the prevalent creed. Buddhism was not even a revolt against caste, for though men from all castes were admitted to the monastic order, and though in the discourses of Buddha himself and others, the distinction of caste is pronounced to be entirely worthless, still the object of those who elaborated the system was not to level caste-distinctions. They even left the domestic ceremonies of their followers to be performed according to the Vedic ritual. This is one of the arguments brought against Buddhism by Udayanācārya. "There does not exist," he says, "a sect, the followers of which do not perform the Vedic rites beginning with the Garbhādhāna and ending with the funeral, even though they regard them as having but a relative or tentative truth."[1] Buddhism, however, was a revolt against the sacrificial system, and denied the authority of the Vedas as calculated to point out the path to salvation. And this is at the root of the hostility between Buddhism and Brahmanism.

PROPAGATION OF BUDDHISM—AŚOKA'S EDICTS.

Buddhism was propagated by a number of devoted persons. But I think the efforts of Aśoka contributed a good deal to its acceptance by the large mass of the people. Though of course in his Edicts he does not inculcate upon his people faith in Buddha and Saṁgha, still the Dharma or righteousness that he preaches is in the spirit of Buddhism. The inscriptions of Aśoka are engraved on rocks, pillars, and tablets of stone. Those of the first class are found at Girnar in Kāthiawāḍ on the west, Shahbazgarhi in Afghanistan, Manshera on the northern frontiers of the Panjab, Khalsi near the sources of the Jumna in the Himālaya, and Dhauli in Katak, and Jaugad in Ganjam on the east. All these contain the

[1] नास्त्येव तद्दर्शनं यत्र सांवृतमेतदित्युक्त्वापि गर्भाधानाद्यन्त्येष्टिपर्यन्तां वैदिकीं क्रियां जनो नानुतिष्ठति । Ātmatattvaviveka, Calc. Ed. of Saṁvat 1906, p. 89. सांवृत is relating to संवृति, a Buddhist technical term.

same edicts, their number in some cases being fourteen, and less in others. In the last two places there are two separate edicts not found on the other rocks. These inscriptions are in two different characters—those at Girnār, Khalsī, Dhauli and Jaugad being in the character called Brāhmī, which is the earliest form of our modern Devanāgarī, and those at Shahbazgarhi and Mansesahra are in the character called Kharoṣṭhī, and are written from right to left in the manner of the ancient Pahlavi and the modern Persian and Arabic documents. Two of the columns bearing inscriptions of the second class are now at Delhi. They were brought there by the Emperor Firozeshah from Siwalik and Meerut. The others exist at Allahabad, Radhia, Mathia, and Rāmpurvā. The edicts are the same on these columns, but the number of these on the Siwalik Delhi pillar is seven, the second Delhi pillar contains five, that at Rāmpurvā four, and the rest six. In the case of both these classes, the inscriptions are well-preserved in some cases and mutilated in others. Smaller edicts on rocks and tablets are found at Rupnāth and Sahasrām in Bhagelkhand, Bairat on the north-eastern boundary of Rajputana and Siddāpur in the Mysore territory. There is also a tablet inscription addressed to the Māgadha Saṁgha, and three small ones in caves at Barābar near Gayā. Two more inscriptions have been found at Paderia and Nigliva in the Nepal Terai.

EXTENT OF AŚOKA'S EMPIRE AND THE DATE OF HIS CORONATION.

Now, in the first place, from the localities in which we find these inscriptions, it appears that Aśoka's dominions extended from Kāthaiwāḍ on the west to Katak and Ganjam on the east, and to Afghanistan, Panjab, and the sources of the Jumna in the north. To the south it extended over the centre of the table-land of the the Deccan upto Mysore. In the second rock-edict he speaks of "conquered" countries and the "neighbouring or bordering" countries. In the last class he mentions the Coḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, Satiyaputa, Ketalaputa or Keralaputa up to Tambapaṇṇi, and the countries of Antiyoko the Yoṇa king and his neighbours. In the thirteenth rock-edict he speaks of his having achieved religious

victory "here" and in the neighbouring or bordering countries up to six hundred Yojanas, where reigns Antiyoko the Yoṇa king, and further away from him where the four kings, Turamāya, Antikina, Maka, and Alikasudara hold sway, and down below where the Coḍa and the Pāṇḍya rule up to Tambapaṇṇi, and also in the countries of "Hidarāja." This last expression must be translated by "the kings about here," among whom he enumerates those of the countries of Viṣa, Vaji, Yoṇa, Kamboja, Nābhāta, Nabhapanti, Bhoja, Pitinika, Andhra, and Pulinda[1]. Here there is a threefold division, *viz.*, his own empire, spoken of as "here"; the neighbouring independent countries ruled over by Antiochus and others, and those of the Coḍas and Paṇḍyas; and the "Hidarājas" or "kings here," *i.e.*, in his empire. On comparing both these passages, it would appear that Antiochus and the other Greek princes as well as the princes of the Coḍas and Pāṇḍyas, were independent; while the kings of the Vajjis, whose country lay near Pāṭaliputra, and of the Bhojas, the Petenikas, and the Āndhras and the Pulindas were under his influence, *i.e.*, were probably his feudatories; while the rest of the country was under his immediate sway. Among the feudatory princes must also be included those of the Gandhāras, Rāsṭikas, and the Aparāntas, who are mentioned in the fifth rock-edict, and to whose dominions he sent overseers of righteousness[2]. From the mention of Antiyoko and others in the second and thirteenth edicts, the date when they were composed can be accurately determined. Antiyoko was Antiochus of Syria (260—247 B.C.), Turamāya was Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt (285—247 B.C.), Antikini was Antigonos Gonatus of Macedonia (278—242 B.C.), Maka was Magas of Cyrene

1 Epi. Ind. Vol. II. pp. 449-450 and 462-465. Hidarāja has been taken to be a proper name by both M. Senart and Dr. Bühler. But *Hida* everywhere in these inscriptions means "here," and the sense the "kings here" fits in very well with the context. Aśoka distinguishes between *Hida* and *Antesu*—*i.e.*, his own empire and the territories of his neighbours. The third class left must be of those who were kings in the extent of country that could be spoken of as *Hida*, *i.e.*, princes comprised in his empire or dependent princes. Ib. p. 471, and Inscriptions of Piyadasi, by Senart, Vol. II, p. 84 and p. 92, note 63.

2 Dharmamahāmātrāḥ.

(died 258 B.C.), and Alikasundara was Alexander of Epirus (died between 262 and 258 B. C.). All of these were living between 250 and 258 B.C., wherefore the matter in the inscription was composed between those years, *i.e.*, about 259 B.C., and Aśoka was crowned about 271 B.C., as the edict was promulgated in the thriteenth year after the event[1].

AŚOKA, A BUDDHIST—BUT TOLERANT AND LIBERAL.

In the edicts at Sahasaram, Bairat, Rupnāth, and Siddāpur,[2] Aśoka says that he was an Upāsaka or lay follower of Buddhism for more than two years and a half, but did not exert himself to promote righteousness; but for more than a year afterwards, he did so, and the result was that those men and gods that had been regarded as true in Jambudvīpa before, were rendered false. In the eighth rock-edict, he speaks of his having " set out for Saṁbodhi," which technically means perfect knowledge, after the end of the tenth year since his coronation. This expression occurs in Buddhistic Pali works, and signifies ' beginning to do such deeds as are calculated to lead in the end to perfection.' From these two statements it appears that Aśoka was a Buddhistic lay follower, and worked with a view to gain the highest good promised by Buddhism. He visited the Lumbini grove, where Śākyamuni was born, after he had been a crowned king for twenty years, and, having done worship, erected a stone column on the site with a stone enclosure (enclosing wall)[3]. Paderia in the Nepal Terai, where the inscription, which mentions this, was found engraved on a mutilated pillar, must be the site of the birth-place of Buddha. The other Nepal inscription that was found at Nigliva represents his having increased the Stūpa raised to Konākamana, when fourteen years had elapsed since his coronation, and some years afterwards, probably in the same year in which he visited the Lumbini grove, he did worship

1 Inscriptions of Piyadasi, by Senart, Vol, II, p. 86, Eng. Trans.

2 Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII. pp. 302-303; Senart, Vol. II. pp. 57-58 and 67; and Epi. Ind. Vol. IV, p. 138.

3 Epi. Ind. Vol. V. p. 4. I think सिलाविगडभीचा must be an enclosure or railing made of stone. भीचा is probably connected with bhitti or bhittikā "a wall."

there.[1] In the Bhabhra inscription addressed to the Māgadha Church, Aśoka expresses his faith in the Buddhist Triad of Buddha, Dharma (Righteousness) and Saṁgha (the Assembly) and recommends that certain works which he names should be read and pondered over by the priests as well as by lay followers.[2] All this shows distinctly enough that Aśoka was a Buddhist; but in the edicts, his notions seem to be so liberal and exalted, and his admission that there is truth in the teachings of all sects is so plain, that it must be concluded that he was not actuated by a sectarian spirit, but by a simple respect for truth; and his ethical discourses were such as to be acceptable to everybody, and his moral overseers worked amongst people of all classes and creeds.

AŚOKA'S AIMS AND OBJECTS AND THE MEANS HE EMPLOYED.

Aśoka's great object in publishing his edicts was to preach and promote righteousness amongst his subjects. Dharma or righteousness consists, as said by him in the second pillar-edict, (1) in doing no ill, (2) doing a great deal of good, (3) in sympathy, (4) beneficence, (5) truth, and (6) purity. In the seventh edict he adds, (7) gentleness, and (8) saintliness[3]. Besides this, he prohibited the killing of animals for religious sacrifices, and was very particular about it.[4] In the fifth pillar-edict he does seem to allow the flesh of certain animals to be used, but he carefully enumerates those that should not be killed at all, and the conditions under which others should not be killed. Large feasts or banquets, where hundreds of thousands of animals were killed, he prohibited.[5] He directed his officers to go on tours every five years for the inculcation of Dharma or righteousness and for other matters. He had Mahāmātras or Governors of provinces before, but in the fifth

1 Epi. Ind. Vol. V, pp. 5-6.

2 Ind. Ant. Vol. V, p. 257.

3 Epi Ind. Vol. II, pp. 249, 269-71, and also Senart, Vol. II. pp. 6, 26-27. The words are: (1) अपासिनव, (2) बहुकयान (बहुकल्याण), (3) दया, (4) दान, (5) सच (सत्य), (6) सोचय (सौच), (7) मदव (मार्दव), and (8) साधव (साधुत्व).

4 First Rock Edict and also the Fourth.

5 First Rock Edict.

rock-edict he speaks of his having created the office of Dharma-mahāmātras or overseers of righteousness in the fourteenth year after his coronation, and sent them to different countries—those under his immediate sway and those which were semi-independent. They were to work amongst old and young, rich and poor, householders and recluses, and amongst the followers of the different sects; and their business was to look to the good of all, to establish and promote righteousness, and to protect all from oppression. They were also to work amongst those who were near to him, in his family, and amongst his relations. In the fourth rock edict he tells us that by his efforts, the destruction of animals, which was enormous before, has almost ceased by his religious orders or instructions, and that a regard for one's relations, for Brahmins and Śramaṇas or holy recluses, obedience to father and mother and to the old, and general righteousness have increased and will increase, and he hopes that his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, &c., up to the end of the Kalpa will go on promoting it; and, being righteous themselves, will instruct their subjects in righteousness. For, "this," he says, "is the highest duty one can perform, *viz.*, that of preaching righteousness." In the seventh rock-edict he allows the followers of all sects to live wherever they like, because what they all aim at is self-restraint and purity; and in the twelfth, he says that he shows his regard for the members of all sects, for the recluses and householders, by gifts and in various other ways; but the highest or the best way of showing regard is to seek to increase the importance of all sects. This importance is increased by ceasing to extol one's own sect or revile that of another, and by showing respect for the creed of another. Aśoka also speaks of his having planted trees and medicinal herbs, dug wells, and opened establishments for the distribution of water, for the good of men and animals in different places, even in the countries of his foreign neighbours.[1] The inscriptions in two of the caves at Barābar mention their being dedicated after he had been a crowned monarch for twelve years. to the use of members of the Ājīva sect, which

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[1] Second Rock Edict.

like that of the Buddhists, was a sect of recluses; that in the third, does not give any name.[1]

This will give the reader an idea of the sort of religion preached by Aśoka. He prohibited animal sacrifices and taught that right conduct was the only way to heaven. He inculcated respect for Brahmins as well as Śramaṇas or ascetics of all sects, and was tolerant towards all. The old Vedic or sacrificial religion, *i.e.*, the Karmakāṇḍa, thus received an effectual blow not only at the hands of Buddhists generally, but of Aśoka particularly; so that though attempts were made later on to revive it, as I shall hereafter show, it became obsolete; and it is only rarely that one meets with an Agnihotrin or keeper of the sacred fires, and even the simplest of the old great sacrifices is performed in modern times, in but a few and stray instances.

BUDDHISTIC ACCOUNTS.

The Buddhist records give long accounts of Aśoka and represent him as one of their great patrons; but they are more or less legendary, and it is difficult to separate the truth from falsehood. Some of their statements, such as that Aśoka visited Buddha's birthplace, are, as we have seen, confirmed by the inscriptions. A great council of Buddhist priests is said to have been held at his instance to settle the Buddhistic canon; and though there is nothing improbable in it, still it is rather remarkable that no reference to the event occurs in the inscriptions; and Aśoka does not seem to have interested himself with doctrinal Buddhism so much as to seek its settlement.

SUCCESSORS OF AŚOKA.

The names of the successors of Aśoka given in the Purāṇas do not agree. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa gives Daśaratha as the name of his grandson, and there are three inscriptions in three caves in the Nāgārjuni hills, near Gayā, in which Daśaratha is represented immediately after his coronation to have dedicated them for the use

1 Cunningham's Corpus Inscr. Ind. plate XVI.; Ind. Ant. Vol. XX p., 364;

of the Ajīvaka monks.[1] We have seen that Aśoka dedicated similar caves, which are in the Barābar hills, for the use of the Ajīvakas. No trace of any other successor of Aśoka is found anywhere.

THE ŚUṄGAS AND THE KĀṆVĀYANAS.

The dynasty of the Mauryas was uprooted, according to the Purāṇas, by Puṣpamitra or Puṣyamitra, who founded the dynasty of the Śuṅgas. Puṣyamitra is several times alluded to by Patañjali in the Mahābhāṣya, and from the occurrence of his name in a particular passage, I have fixed Patañjali's date to be about 142 B.C.[2]. Puṣyamitra is represented by the Buddhists to have been their persecutor. It appears from the Mahābhāṣya that he was a staunch adherent of Brahmanism and performed sacrifices. His son Agnimitra is the hero of Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra, in which also there is an allusion to the Aśvamedha performed by Puṣyamitra. It will thus appear that he could by no means have been a patron of Buddhism, and the story of his having persecuted them may therefore be true. An inscription on the Buddhistic Stūpa at Bharaut, between Jabbalpore and Allahabad, represents the place to have been situated in the dominions of the Śuṅgas. Agnimitra was probably his father's viceroy at Vidiśā in eastern Mālwā. The Śuṅgas are mentioned as having reigned for 112 years in the Purāṇas. They were followed by the Kāṇvāyanas, the first of whom was Vāsudeva. A duration of forty-five years is assigned to this dynasty.

THE YAVANAS OR BACTRIAN GREEKS.

Long before this time, however, the Yavanas and even the Śakas make their appearance in Indian history. The instances given by Patañjali of the use of the Imperfect to indicate an action well-known to people, but not witnessed by the speaker, and still possible to have been seen by him, are, as is well known, Aruṇad Yava-

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1 Cunningham's Corpus Inscr. Ind., plate XVI.; Ind. Ant. Vol. XX, pp. 364-65.

2 Ind. Ant. Vol. I, pp. 299 ff; Vol. II. pp. 69 ff. This article is printed in this Volume later.

naḥ Sāketam : Aruṇad Yavano Madyamikām.[1] This shows that a certain Yavana or Greek prince had besieged Sāketa or Ayodhyā and another place called Madhyamikā when Patañjali wrote this. The late Dr. Goldstücker identified this Yavana prince with Menander. He may, however, be identified with Apollodotos, since the coins of both were found near the Jumna, and, according to the author of the Periplus, were current at Barygaza (Broach) in the first century A.D.[2]. But since Strabo represents Menander to have carried his arms as far as the Jumna, his identification with the Yavana prince is more probable. In another place, Patañjali, in the instances to the Sūtra, beginning with Śūdrāṇām.[3] &c., gives Śakayavanam as an instance of an aggregate Dvandva which signifies that they were Śūdras and lived beyond the confines of Aryāvarta. I have already alluded to a work in Pāli consisting of dialogues between Milinda and Nāgasena, which is called Milinda-Pañho. Milinda has been identified with Menander, and is represented as a Yavana king whose capital was Śākala in the Panjab. The Purāṇas, too, in a passage which is greatly confused, assign the sovereignty of India to Śakas and other foreign tribes. But as the only reliable and definite evidence about these foreign kings is furnished by their coins, we shall now proceed to consider them.

COINS OF BACTRIAN KINGS.

Coins of silver and sometimes of copper have been found in Afghanistan and the Panjab, even as far eastward as Mathurā and the Jumna, which bear bilingual legends besides certain emblems characteristic of them. One of these is on the obverse, in Greek characters and language, giving the name of the prince as well as his titles ; and the other, which is on the reverse, is in the Kharoṣṭhī characters, to which I have already drawn attention, and which are written from the right to the left, and in the Pāli or Prakrit language. For example, the coins of one of the earlier of these Bactro-Indian princes, Heliokles, contain on the obverse the legend *Basileus Dikaioy Heliokleoys*, which means

1 Under Pāṇini, III. 2, 111.
2 Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. p. 143.
3 Under Pāṇini, II. 4, 10.

"of Heliokles, the righteous king," and on the reverse, the legend *Mahārājasa Dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa*, which is the northern Prakrit for the Sanskrit "Mahārājasya Dhārmikaṣya Heliyakreyasya." Now, this Prakrit legend could have been used only because the coins were intended to be current in provinces inhabited by Hindus. The princes, therefore, whose coins bear such legends must be considered to have held some province in India. The Kharoṣṭhī characters, as stated before, are used in the rock inscriptions of Aśoka in Afghanistan, and on the northern frontiers of the Panjab. The Kharoṣṭhī legend used on the coins, therefore, indicates that in the beginning, the princes who used them, must have governed some parts of Afghanistan or the Panjab; and their use was continued even after their possessions extended further eastward. The founder of the Greco-Bactrian monarchy was Diodotus. He was followed by Euthydemus who appears to have been totally unconnected with him. Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, succeeded him and even in the life-time of his father carried his arms to India and conquered some territory. Eucratides was his rival and they were at war with each other. But Eucratides in the end succeeded in making himself master of a province in India; and there appear to have been two dynasties or rather factions ruling contemporaneously. To the line of Demetrius belonged Euthydemus II—probably his son,—Agathocles and Pantaleon. A prince of the name of Antimachus seems also to have been connected with them.[1] The coins of the first two princes have no Prakrit legend; those of the next two have it in the Brāhmī or ancient Nāgarī characters, while those of the last have it in the Kharoṣṭhī. Eucratides was succeeded by Heliocles, his son, who probably reigned from 160 B.C to 150 B. C.[2]. There are bilingual legends on the coins of these. There were other princes who followed these, but whose order has not yet been determined, and the dates, too, have not been settled. There names are these:—Philoxenus, Lysias, Antialkidas, Theophilus, Amyntas, and Archebius. These and the preceding princes ruled over Bactria and Afgha-

1 Percy Gardner's Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings, &c., Introduction.
2 Lassen, Ind. Altert. Vol. II. pp. 325-26.

nistan to the south of the Paropamisus, but not over the Panjab. The names of those who held also the Panjab, and in some cases some of the eastern provinces as far as the Jumna, are as follows :— Menander, Apollodotus, Zoilus, Dionysius, Strato, Hippostratus, Diomedes, Nicias, Telephus, Hermaeus.[1] Of these the name of Menander occurs, as already stated, in the Pāli work known as Milinda-Pañho. Milinda is the Indianized form of Menander; and the prince is represented as being very powerful. His capital was Śākala in the Panjab.

In the coins of some of these princes the middle word is *apaḍihatasa* corresponding to *Anikêtou* in the Greek legend, as in *Mahārājasa Apaḍihatasa Philasinasa*. In those of others we have *Jayadharasa* corresponding to *Nikêphorou* in the Greek legend, as in *Mahārājasa Jayadharsa Antialkiasa*. On the coins of Archebius, we have *Mahārājasa Dhramikasa Jayadharasa Arkhebiyasa*, and on those of others, such as Menander, we have *Tradarasa* corresponding to the Greek *Sôtêros*, as in *Mahārājasa Tradarasa Menamdrasa*. *Tradarasa* is a corruption of some such word as *trātārasa* for Sanskrit *trātuḥ*. On some coins we have *Tejamasa Tādārasa*, where *tejama* stands for the Greek *Epiphanous*, and means brilliant.. Sometimes we have *Mahatasa Jayatasa* after *Mahārājasa*.

The chronology and the mutual relations of these Greco-Indian kings are by no means clear. Some of the princes reigned in one province contemporaneously with others in other provinces. But it may generally be stated,—especially in view of the passage quoted from Patañjali above, and of the tradition alluded to by Kālidāsa in the Mālavikāgnimitra, that Puṣpamitra's sacrificial horse was captured on the banks of the Sindhu or Indus by Yavana cavalry—it may be concluded that these kings were in possession of parts of India from about the beginning of the second century before Christ to the arrival of the Śakas whom we shall now proceed to consider.

THE IMPERIAL ŚAKAS.

The Śaka coinage is an imitiation of the Greco-Bactrian or Greco-Indian coinage, though there are some emblems peculiar to the

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1 Lassen, l. c. Vol. II., Bk. II,

Śakas. There are two legends, as in the case of the former, one on the obverse in Greek letters, and the other on the reverse in Kharoṣṭhī character and in the Prakrit language. Here, too, the mutual relation between the princes, their order of succession, as well as their dates, are by no means clear. Still, from the bilingual legends on the coins, we have recently determined the order of the princes, and endeavoured to fix the period when they ruled. The following are the names arranged in the order thus determined:—(i) Vonones, (ii) Spalirises, (iii) Azes I., (iv) Azilises, (v) Azes II., and (vi) Maues. There are coins of two others, *viz.*, Spalahores and his son Spalgadames, who, however, did not succeed to supreme power.[1] Now, one thing to be remarked with reference to these princes is that in the legends on their coins, unlike the Greco-Indians, they style themselves *Basileus Basileôn*, corresponding to the Prakrit on the reverse *Mahārājasa Rājarājasa*. Thus they style themselves "kings of kings," *i. e.*, emperors. They also appropriate the epithet *Mahatasa*, corresponding to the Greek *Megalou*, which we find on the coins of Greek kings. Now, the title "king of kings" cannot in the beginning at least, have been an empty boast. The Śakas must have conquered a very large portion of the country before they found themselves in a position to use this imperial title. And we have evidence of the spread of their power. First of all, the era at present called Śālivāhana Śaka was up to about the thirteenth century, known by the name of 'the era of the Śaka king of kings' and 'the era of the coronation of the Śaka king.' Now, such an era, bearing the name of the Śaka king that has lasted to the present day, cannot have come to be generally used, unless the Śaka kings had been very powerful, and their dominions extended over a very large portion of the country and lasted for a long time. And we have positive evidence of the extent of their power. Taxila in the Panjab, and Mathurā and the surrounding provinces were ruled over by princes who use the title of Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa. So also a very long dynasty of Kṣtrapas or Mahākṣtrapas ruled over the part of the country ex-

1 See the paper written by Mr. Devadatta R. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS, 1900, Vol. XX, pp. 16ff.

tending from the coast of Kāthiawād to Ujjayanī in Mālwā. Even the Maratha Country was for some time under the sovereignty of a Kṣatrapa, who afterwards became a Mahākṣatrapa. Evidence has been found to consider these Kṣatrapas as belonging to the Śaka race, and the very title Kṣatrapa, which is evidently the same as the Persian *Khshathrapa*, (ordinarily Satrap), shows that these princes were originally of a foreign origin. The coins of the early princes of the Western or Kāthiawād-Mālwā Kṣtrapas bear on the obverse some Greek characters, and also a few Kharoṣṭhī letters, together with a Brāhmī legend on the reverse. And this also points to their connection with the North. These princes give dates on their coins and use them in their inscriptions which have now been considered by all antiquarians to refer to the Śaka era. It is by no means unreasonable therefore to consider these and the Northern Kṣatrapas to have been in the beginning at least Viceroys of the Śaka kings, and the Śaka era to have been founded by the most powerful of these kings. If these considerations have any weight, the Śaka kings, whose names have been given above, founded their power in the latter part of the first century of the Christian era. This goes against the opinion of all scholars and antiquarians who have hitherto written on the subject and who refer the foundation of the Śaka power to about the beginning of the first century before Christ.[1]

NORTHERN KṢATRAPAS.

The names of Northern Kṣatrapas found on coins and in inscriptions are Zeionises, Kharamostis ; Liaka and Patika who bore the surname Kusulaka and governed North-Western Panjab at Taxila ; and Rājub(v)ula and his son Śoḍāsa who held power at Mathurā.[2] The names of Liaka and Patika are found in a copperplate inscrip

1 See D. R. Bhandarkar's paper referred to above for the whole argument. Many circumstances have been brought forward, all of which point to the conclusion which we have arrived at, and thus render it highly probable. The objection against it, based on the style of the coins, has also been considered there.

2 Numismatic Chronicle for 1890, pp. 125-129 ; Percy Gardner's Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of India.

tion in which the foundation of a monastry and the placing of a relic of Śākyamuni are recorded.[1] Inscriptions have been discovered at Mathurā and Morā in Rajputana,[2] which are dated in the reign of Śoḍāsa. There was also found a Lion Pillar at Mathurā on which there is an inscription in which the names of the mother of Śoḍāsa, his father Rājuvula, and other relatives are given, as well as those of the allied Kṣatrapas, *viz.*, Patika of Takṣaśilā and Miyika.[3] The names of two other Kṣatrapas, Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa,[4] have been discovered. The coins of Zeionises and Kharamostis, and some of Rājuvula bear on the obverse a Greek legend and on the reverse one in Kharoṣṭhī characters, thus showing their close connection with their Śaka masters. Some of Rājuvula and those of Śoḍāsa, Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa have a Brāhmī legend only. Rājuvula uses high-sounding imperial titles on some of his coins, whence it would appear that he made himself independent of his overlord. The date of his son Śoḍāsa is 72,[5] equivalent, according to our view, to 150 A.D.. It would thus appear that the Satraps who governed Mathurā and the eastern portion of the Śaka empire declared themselves independent some time before 150 A.D.; while those who governed north-western Panjab at Taxila, and consequently were nearer to their sovereign lords, acknowledged their authority till 78 Śaka or 150 A.D., as is evident from Patika's mention of Moga who has been identified with the Śaka Emperor Maues, in the Taxila copperplate inscription referred to before.

KṢATRAPAS OF KĀTHIĀWĀD-MĀLWĀ.

Silver coins of the Kṣatrapas of Kāthiawād or Surāṣṭra and Mālwā have been found in large numbers in those provinces. The latest find was in the rock-cells and temples to the south of the Uparkot, a fortress of Junāgadh in Kāthiawād, which consisted

1 Epi. Ind. Vol. IV., pp. 54ff.

2 Cunnigham's Arch. Rep. Vol. III., p. 30, and Vol. XX., p. 49, and Epi. Ind. Vol. II., p. 199.

3 JRAS, 1894, pp. 533ff.

4 Ibid. p. 549, and Cunnigham's Coins, of Anc. Ind. p. 87.

5 Epi. Ind. Vol. VII., p. 199, and Vol. IV., p. 55, n. 2.

of twelve hundred coins of different kings.[1] On the obverse, there is a bust of the reigning prince, very often with the date, and on the reverse, there is in the centre an emblem which has the appearance of a Stūpa with a wavy line below and the sun and the crescent of the moon at the top. Round this central emblem is the legend giving the name of the prince with that of his father and the title Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa, in Brāhmī or old Devanāgarī character and in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit. The first prince of this dynasty was Caṣṭana son of Ghsamotika. There are Greek letters on the obverse of his coins which have but recently been read and found to contain the name of the prince. The legend on the reverse is *Rājño Mahākṣhatrapasa Ghsamotikaputrasa Caṣṭanasa*. The coins of this prince do not bear dates; but Caṣṭana is mentioned by Ptolemy as Tiastenes, a prince reigning at Ozene or Ujjayanī. And from this and other circumstances his date has been determined to be about 132 A.D.. The name Caṣṭana and Ghsamotika are evidently foreign and not Indian. Caṣṭana had a large number of successors, some of whom are called Kṣatrapas only, and others Mahākṣatrapas. There are others again who were Kṣatrapas in the early part of their career, and Mahākṣatrapas in the later. The former was evidently an inferior title and showed that the bearer of it was a dependent prince, while a Mahākṣatrapa held supreme power. There are inscriptions also in which the names of some of these princes are mentioned. In one at Junāgadh, dated 72, Rudradāman's minister Suviśākha, a Pahlava, son of Kulaipa, is represented to have re-constructed the dam that had broken away of the lake Sudarśana. In it Rudradāman is spoken of as having been at war with Śātakarṇi, the lord of the Deccan, and subjected to his sway a good many provinces to the north of Surāṣṭra. There is another inscription bearing the date 103 found at Guṇḍā, in the Jāmnagar State, in which Rudrabhūti is represented as having dug a tank and constructed it in the reign of the Kṣatrapa Rudrasiṁha, son of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman, grandson of Kṣatrapa Jayadāman, and great-grandson of Mahākṣatrapa

1 JBBRAS, Vol. XX., (1900) p. 201.

Caṣṭana.[1] A third found at Jasdan in Kāṭhiawāḍ and dated 127, while Rudrasena was ruling, records the construction of a Sattra or a feeding-house for travellers, by one whose name appears to be Mānasasagara, and who was the son of Praṇāthaka and grandson of Khara.[2] The genealogy of Rudrasena, that is given, is, that he was [the son] of Rudrasiṁha, grandson of Rudradāman, grandson of the son of Jayadāman, and great-grandson of the son of Caṣṭana. Another inscription at Junāgadh of the grandson of Jayadāman represents some sort of gift in connection with those who had become Kevalis, *i.e.*, perfect individuals, according to Jainas. And the last that I have to notice is that found at Mulwāsar in Okhāmaṇḍala which refers itself to the reign of Rudrasena and bears the date 122.[3]

The following is a complete list of the Kṣatrapa princes with the dates occurring on the coins, and in the inscriptions :—

I. *Mahākṣatrapas.*	II. *Kṣatrapas.*
1. Caṣṭana.	1. Caṣṭana
2. Rudradāman son of Jayadāman, 72.	2. Jayadāman son of Caṣṭana.
3. Dāmaghsada son of Rudradāman.	3. Dāmaghsada son of Rudradāman.
4. Rudrasiṁha son of Rudradāman, 103, 106, 108, 109, 110, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118.	4. Rudrasiṁha son of Rudradāman, 102, 110, 112.
5. Jīvadāman son of Dāmaghsada, 119, 120.	5. Satyadāman son Dāmaghsada.
6. Rudrasena son of Rudra siṁha, 122, 125, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144.	6. Rudrasena son of Rudrasiṁha, 121.

1 Bhownagar Collection of Inscriptions, p. 22.

2 *Ib.* p. 22 facs., and JBBRAS, Vol. VIII , p. 234.

3 Bhownagar Coll. of Inscr., p. 7 and p. 23 ; see also JRAS, 1899, pp 380ff.

I. *Mahākṣatrapas.*

7. Saṁghadāman son of Rudrasiṁha, 144.
8. Dāmasena son of Rudrasiṁha, 145, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158.
9. Dāmajadaśrī son of Rudrasena.
10. Yaśodāman son of Dāmasena, 161.
11. Vijayasena son of Dāmasena, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172.
12. Dāmajadaśrī son of Dāmasena, 172, 174, 175, 176.
13. Rudrasena son of Vīradāman, 17(8?), 180, 183, 185, 186, 188, 190, 194.
14. Viśvasiṁha son of Rudrasena, dates illegible.
15. Bhartṛdāman 203, 207, 210, 211, 214, 217, 220 ?
16. Svāmi-Rudrasena son of Svāmi-Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman, 270, 271, 272, 273,- 288, 290, 292, 293, 294, 296, 298, 300.
17. Svāmi-Siṁhasena sister's son of Svāmi-Rudrasena 304.
18. Svāmi-(Rudra?)sena son of Svāmi-Siṁhasena.
19. Svāmi-Rudrasiṁha son of Svāmi-Mahākṣatrapa Satyasena, 310.

II. *Kṣatrapas.*

7. Pṛthvīsena son of Rudrasena, 144.
8. Dāmajadaśrī son of Rudrasena, 154, 155.
9. Yaśodāman son of Dāmasena, 160.
10. Vijayasena son of Dāmasena, 160, 161, 162.
11. Viśvasiṁha son of Rudrasena, 198, 199, 200, 201.
12. Bhartṛdāman son of Rudrasena 201, 202.
13. Viśvasena son of Bhartṛdāman, 216, 217, 218, 219, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226.
14. Rudrasiṁha son Svāmi-Jīvadāman, 227, 229, 230, 231, 240.
15. Yaśodāman son of Rudrasiṁha 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 249, 252, 253, 254.

Though the Kṣatrapas occupied a subordinate position, they issued coins in their name, and from that it would appear that they were put in charge of a separate province. Probably the Mahākṣatrapas reigned at the capital, whether it was Ujjayanī as in Caṣṭana's time, or any other town, and the Kṣatrapas in Kāṭhiawāḍ.

THE RULE OF SUCCESSION AMONG THE KṢATRAPAS AND THE IMPERIAL ŚAKAS.

It will be seen that Rudradāman, the second in list I, was succeeded by his son Dāmaghsada, and he by his brother Rudrasiṁha and not by his son Satyadāman, who was only a Kṣatrapa under his uncle. After the two brothers, their sons became Mahākṣatrapas successively; and after Rudrasena, the eldest son of Rudrasiṁha, his two brothers held the supreme power one after another, and two sons of Rudrasena were only Kṣtrapas under their uncle. Similarly, three sons of Dāmasena (Nos. 10, 11 and 12) reigned one after another. The position of Kṣatrapa under the Mahākṣatrapa was occupied by the brother of the latter, as in the case of No. 4 in list II; in the absence of the brother, by the elder brother's son, and in his absence, his own son. After the brothers had been in power successsively, their sons, beginning with those of the eldest, got possession of the throne, as in the case of Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 in list I. Thus, according to the custom of this dynasty, the rightful heir to the throne was the next brother, and after the brothers, the sons in the order of their father's seniority. Dr. Bühler conjectures the existence of a similar custom among the northern Kṣatrapas from the fact of Kharoṣṭha's bearing the title of Yuvarāja, while his brother Śoḍāsa was a reigning Kṣatrapa.[1] But it can be distinctly traced among the imperial Śakas. For, while the coins of Vonones represent him in Greek characters on the obverse as "King of kings," they show on the reverse in Kharoṣṭhī characters that his brother Spalahores held power under him, as the brother of a Mālwā Mahākṣatrapa did under the latter. On other coins we have Spalgadames, the son of

1 JRAS, 1894, p. 532.

Sphalahores, associated on the reverse with Vonones on the obverse. This Spalgadames is again connected on the obverse with Spalirises, who is styled "the king's brother." There are other coins on which Spalirises appears in both the Greek and Kharoṣṭhī legends as "King of kings." Still others we have, on which he, as supreme sovereign is associated with Azes on the reverse in Kharoṣṭhī characters. There is one coin described by Sir A. Cunnigham, in which Azes on the reverse is associated with Vonones on the obverse. No coin has been discovered on which Vonones appears on the reverse in Kharoṣṭhī characters. All this shows that Vonones was the first supreme sovereign, that Azes was dependent first on him and afterwards on Spalirises; and consequently that Spalirises succeeded Vonones; and that the Mahārāja, or 'Great King,' whose brother Spalirises is represented to be, must have been Vonones. The latter had another brother named Spalahores; but since he is not represented as an independent sovereign on the obverse in Greek characters on any coin, and instead of him, his son's name is associated with Vonones, he must have died during the life-time of the latter, and Spalirises, another brother, assumed Spalahores' position, and Spalgadames was at one time subordinate to him, and also at another time directly to Vonones. Subsequently Spalirises, being Vonones' brother, obtained supreme power after his death. The phrase Mahārājabhrātā or "king's brother," is used pointedly to indicate the right of the person to be Crown Prince and subsequently to be successor. The prevalence of this custom among the imperial Śakas shows that the Mahākṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas of India were intimately connected with them, *i.e.*, derived their authority originally from them and were Śakas.[1]

FORTUNES OF THE KṢATRAPA FAMILY OF KĀTHIAWĀḌ-MĀLWĀ.

Caṣṭana was at first a Kṣatrapa and then a Mahākṣatrapa, probably because he first acknowledged the supremacy of his Śaka overlord and afterwards assumed independence. Jayadāman, his son, was a Kṣatrapa only; and the reason appears to have been

1 Percy Gardner, Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings, pp. 98-102; and Numismatic Chronicle, 1890, p. 138.

the same as that given by me in the "Early History of the Deccan," *viz.*, that Gotamīputra and Puḷumāyi invaded Ujjayanī and deprived him of supreme power. Rudradāman, his son, then acquired his lost kingdom and assumed the title of Mahākṣatrapa.[1] After Rudradāman the succession is regular up to Bhartṛdāman, *i.e.*, till about Śaka 226, or 304 A.D.. Then up to 270 Śaka, or rather 288, *i.e.*, for about 62 years, we have no Mahākṣatrapa. This must have been due to a prince or princes of some other family having established their sway over Mālwā ; and we have an inscription at Sāñchi of Vāsuṣka, Bazdeo, or Vāsudeva who belonged to the Kuṣana family to be mentioned hereafter, bearing the date 78.[2] If the interpretation of the date of the princes of that family given in the paper referred to above, and explained below, is correct, this corresponds to 278 Śaka. Very likely, therefore, Kaniṣka, the first or most famous prince of the family, whose dates range from 205 to 228 Śaka, subjugated Mālwā about the year 226 Śaka, and he and his successors retained possession of the province till about 288 Śaka. The earliest date of the restored Mahākṣatrapa is 270, but his coins are continuous only for four years. Then there is a gap of 15 years between 273 and 288, which shows that his power was not firmly established in 270, and that he was driven out again in 273. But a short time after, the Kuṣanas were humbled by the rising Guptas ; and this last circumstance must have been availed of by the Mahākṣatrapas to regain their power, which they did in 288 Śaka. It was, however, not long before the rising power turned its attention to Mālwā also, and the Mahākṣatrapa dynasty retained its regained sovereignty for about 22 or 23 years only, and was finally exterminated by the Guptas in 310 or 311 Śaka, *i.e.*, 388 or 389 A.D.. There must have been some minor revolution before this, when a prince of the name of Īśvaradatta made himself a Mahākṣatrapa and issued coins dated in the first and second years of his reign. He does not appear to have belonged to this dynasty.

1 Second Ed., pp. 28-29.
2 Epi. Ind. Vol. II., p. 369.

Kṣatrapas and Śātavāhanas in the Deccan.

From an inscription at Junnar and others in the Nasik and Karla caves, we see that the sovereignty of Satraps was established over Mahārāṣṭra also. But we find the name of one Mahākṣatrapa only, *viz.*, Nahapāna, and after him we have no names of Satrapas that may be supposed to have ruled over the country, and find instead that the princes of the Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana race were in possession of Mahārāṣṭra. An inscription in one of the caves at Nasik speaks of Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi as having beaten the Śakas, the Yavanas and the Pahlavas, and left no remnant of the race of Khakharāta. In the inscriptions, Nahapāna is also named Kṣaharāta, which is but another form of Khakharāta. Gotamīputra, therefore, must be understood to have destroyed the lineal successor of Nahapāna. Again, in the inscription alluded to above, he is also represented to have re-established the power of the Śātavāhana family. Thus, the Śātavāhanas were in possession of Mahārāṣṭra before the Śakas invaded the country. The principal seat of the family was Dhanakaṭaka, but the younger princes ruled over the Deccan and had Paiṭhaṇa for their capital. The earliest prince of this dynasty whose name is found in the inscriptions was Kṛṣṇa. The name of one still earlier—Simuka Śātavāhana—also occurs, but not as a prince reigning at the time. Kṛṣṇa was followed by Śātakarṇi. Śātakarṇi's successors must have been in possession of the country till the latter part of the first century of the Christian era, when the Śakas established their power. These, however, were driven out of the country by Gotamīputra, and we have the names of Puḷumāyi, Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi, Catuṣparṇa Śātakarṇi and Maḍharīputra Śakasena, as the successors of Gotamīputra, in the inscriptions in the caves and on the coins found at Bassein and Kolhapur, and not that of any Kṣatrapa. So that the Śakas ruled over the Deccan for about one generation only.

The Śātavāhana dynasty is mentioned in the Purāṇas under the name of the Āndhrabhṛtyas, and most of the names given above, Simuka, the founder, Kṛṣṇa Śātakarṇi, Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi,

Puḷumāyi and Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi occur in the genealogy there given. The names of Catusparṇa and Śakasena, however, do not occur. This dynasty is represented in the Purāṇas to have succeeded the Kāṇvāyanas. But they do not appear to have held sway in Northern India. Nahapāna's dates occuring in the inscriptions of his son-in-law, Uṣavadāta, are 40, 41 and 42, and that occurring in the inscription at Junnar of his minister Ayama, is 46. On the supposition that the era is Śaka, these are 118, 119, 120 and 124 A.D.. Puḷumāyi is represented as ruling at Paiṭhaṇa by Ptolemy, as he has represented Caṣṭana to be the king of Ujjayanī. They were, therefore, contemporaries. Hence the Śakas or Satraps were driven away from Mahārāṣṭra between 124 and 132 A.D.. They, however, as has been shown before, ruled over Surāṣṭra and Mālwā with some intermissions till 389 A.D.. In the earlier years Nahapāna is called a mere Kṣatrapa in the inscriptions; but in the Junnar inscription of his minister he is called a Mahākṣatrapa, which shows that like Caṣṭana he at first acknowledged the sovereign power of his Śaka lord in the North, and then assumed independence.

THE INDO-PARTHIANS OR PAHLAVAS.

In the North, the Kṣatrapas and the Śaka emperors soon lost their power. They were succeeded by the Indo-Parthian or Pahlava kings. Their names, determined from coins, are as follows :—

1. Gondophares.
2. Abdagases, nephew of Gondophares.
3. Orthagnes.
4. Arasakes.
5. Pakores.
6. Sanabares.

An inscription of Gondophares bearing date 103 has been discovered at Takht-i-Bahi, to the north-east of Peshāwar. This is represented as the 26th year of his reign, and if the date refers to

the Śaka era, and is equivalent to 181 A.D., Gondophares began to reign in 155 A.D.. His coins are found in Seistan, Khandahar, and even in Western Panjab. He had probably dispossessed the Śakas of their western provinces about the time his reign began, but they continued to hold those to the east as we know from the date 78, equivalent to 156 A.D. of Moga. The date in Takht-i-Bahi inscription has been referred to the Vikrama era and supposed to correspond to 47 A.D., and Gondophares' accession to the throne placed in 21 A.D.. A story that for the first time became current in the fourth century in Christian countries in the west, represents St. Thomas to have visited Gondophares and suffered martyrdom, and if regarded as true, it confirms the date 21 as that of his accession. But if such a prince was remembered in the fourth century, much more reasonable is it to suppose that he was not removed from it by so many as three hundred years, but only by about 150 at the most, and probably less than that. The coins of these kings have Greek legends on the obverse and Kharoṣṭhī in the Prakrit dialect, as in the case of the Śakas and the Greeks. But they use high titles like the Śakas. On some of Gondophares' coins we have in the Greek legend *Basileus Basileon Megalou Gundopherronou*, and in the Kharoṣṭhī *Maharajasa rajarajasa Devatratasa Gudapharasa*, meaning 'of Gudaphara the great king, king of kings, protected by the the gods.' On his coins all the high-sounding epithets, one of which only was used by his predecessors, are found, such as *Apratihata*, *Dhramika* equivalent to *Dhārmika*, *Mahata*, and *Trādata* equivalent to *trātuḥ*. Some of his coins have not the Kharoṣṭhī legend at all, but only Greek—which probably shows that he added Indian provinces to his dominions after he had reigned for some time. The legends on the coins of his successors are more or less corrupt. This as well as the fact of the use of all the magniloquent epithets noticed above, shows that his dynasty succeeded those I have already noticed. The most important of these Parthian princes was Gondophares, and he held possession of a large extent of country; but he does not seem to have penetrated to the east of the Panjab. The territories ruled over by his successors were much narrower.

THE KUṢANAS.

After the Indo-Parthian or Pahlava dynasty, and perhaps, in the beginning, contemporaneous with it, we have another that gave itself the name of Kuṣana. The Princes of this family known to us by name are as follows :—

1. Kujula-Kadphises.
2. Wema-Kadphises.
3. Kaniṣka.
4. Huviṣka.
5. Vāsudeva or Vāsuṣka.

Copper coins of a prince whose imperial titles are given thereon, but whose name does not occur, are found in large numbers in the Panjab, Khandahar, and the Kabul valley, and even in Mālwā. There are a few silver coins also. He probably belonged to this family and preceded Wema-Kadphises. The last three princes in the above list are noticed in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and are represented as belonging to the Turuṣka race—that is to say, they were Turks. And the dress, especially the cap, and the features of the royal figures on their coins appear Turkish. I have already observed that some of the Greek kings reigned contemporaneously with princes of the later dynasties. Some coins of Kujula-Kadphises, on the obverse of which is the name of the Greek prince Hermaeus, have on the reverse the name of Kujala-Kapsa or Kasa without high-sounding titles. This would show that he was subordinate to Hermaeus, and also that some Greek prince continued to reign somewhere, while the Śakas and the Indo-Parthians had supreme power. There are, however, other coins on which the name of Hermaeus does not occur, which indicates that he afterwards acquired independence. But it was his successor Wema-Kadphises who appears to have conquered a large extent of the country and risen to supreme power, as imperial titles appear on his coins, while they do not, on those of Kujula-Kadphises. The same conclusion is pointed to by the fact that his coins are not merely confined to the Kabul valley and the Panjab as those of Kujula, but are found eastward as far as Gorakhpur and Ghazipur, and along the line of railway from

Allahabad to Jabbalpore. Some of his coins have the Greek legend: *Basileus Basileon Megas Wema Kadphises*, and the Kharoṣṭhī legend: *Maharajasa rajadhirajasa Sarvaloga-isvarasa Mahisvarasa Hima-Kathpisasa trdata, i.e.,* 'Hima-Kadphises, the great king, king of kings, the sovereign lord of all people, devotee of Maheśvara and Saviour.' Several much later kings are called Māheśvaras *i.e.,* devotees of Maheśvara or Śiva, or belonging to the sect of Māheśvaras. Wema-Kadphises seems to be so spoken of on his coins; and that he was a worshipper of Śiva is shown also by the emblem of Nandin on the reverse of his coins accompanied by a human figure, which because it holds a trident in its right arm, must represent Śiva. He was the first of all the kings we have noticed, who used gold coinage and was in this respect followed by his successors.

THE LAST THREE KUṢANAS.

The three next kings call themselves Kuṣanas on their coins. The royal figure on them has a dress similar to that on those of Wema-Kadphises. But these three Kuṣanas seem to have struck an independent path for themselves in respect of their coins, which may prehaps point to their constituting an independent family. The legend is only one in Greek letters. On some coins of Kaniṣka it is in the Greek language also and reads, *Basileus Basileon Kanheskkoy i.e.,* 'Kaniṣka, king of kings.' On the majority of his coins, however, and on those of his successors it is in Greek letters, and perhaps in the Turkish language, and reads *Shaonano Shao Kanheski Kushano, Shaonano Shao Havishki Kushano, i.e.,* 'the Shah (king) of Shahs, Kanheski Kuṣana, &c.' The emblems on the reverse are figures of deities from the Greek, Persian and Brahmanic pantheon and of Buddha. By the side of these figures their names also are given in Greek characters. Thus we have Salene, Helios, and Heraklio, Miiro=Mihira, Mazlohano=Mazdaonho; Skando, Mahāseno, Komaro, Bizago, which last is equivalent to Viśākha, Boddo =Buddho, and Saka Mana Boddo=Śākya Muni Buddha.[1] Thus

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[1] Percy Gardner, l. c., pp. 129 ff; Cunningham, Num. Chron. 1892, pp. 63 ff.

these Turkish kings paid an equal respect to the gods of all these four religions. But the figures of Buddha in the sitting or meditative and the standing posture, occur on coins of Kaniṣka only. This may be regarded as evidence of the truth of what the Northern Buddhists say as to Kaniṣka being their patron. In his time and under his patronage a council of priests was held to settle the cannon again, and it was at this time that Buddhism, which had gradually been veering towards the Mahāyāna form, had that character definitely impressed upon it.

THEIR DATES.

There are a great many inscriptions dated in the reigns of these three kings. They are chiefly dedications of Buddhistic and Jaina objects of worship for the use of the people, and occur principally at Mathurā. As stated before, there is one inscription bearing the date 78 and referring itself to the reign of Vāsudeva at Sāñchi. There is not a single Brahmanic inscription. The dates vary from 5 in the reign of Kaniṣka to 98 in the reign of Vāsudeva. Most scholars and antiquarians a few years ago believed Kaniṣka to be the founder of the Śaka era, but the faith of some has been shaken. On this supposition the dates mentioned above run from 83 A.D. to 176 A.D.. But, according to all accounts, the Guptas succeeded the Kuṣanas; like the latter and unlike the previous rulers, they issued a gold coinage which is a close imitation of that of the latter. The forms of letters in the inscriptions of the Kuṣanas appear to belong to a later period. For these reasons I have always believed Kaniṣka to have flourished later than the first century of the Christian era, and we have recently considered the whole question and come to the conclusion formerly stated that one of the Imperial Śaka kings founded the Śaka era. Kaniṣka, between whom and the Śaka founder of the Śaka era came the other Śaka princes—the Indo–Parthians and Wema-Kadphises—reigned much later. The practice of omitting hundreds in dates has long existed in that part of India; and in consideration of the fact that an inscription found at Mathurā, which, though the name of the prince is omitted, contains titles used by the Kuṣanas and

bears the date 290 and some units which are not distinct,[1] the con clusion is reasonable that the dates in the inscriptions of these three Kuṣana princes are abbreviated by the omission of two hundreds. These dates must be referred to the Śaka era, and will thus run from 205 Śaka to 298 Śaka, *i.e.*, 283 A.D., to 376 A.D.. And the period here assigned to the Kuṣana princes agrees with all that is known of them and their relations with other princes. The chronology of the previous dynasties also has been arranged in a manner consistent with it, and there is nothing against it, except numismatic theories, which, however, in consideration of the many types available for the princes of these dynasties, and the play of fancy, such as is presented to our view by the coins of the last three Kuṣana princes, cannot be rigidly adhered to.[2]

PREDOMINANCE OF EARLY BUDDHISM AND OF THE PRAKRIT DIALECTS DURING THE PERIOD GONE OVER.

Thus from about the beginning of the second century before Christ, to about the end of the fourth century after, princes of foreign races were prominent in the history of India, and ruled sometimes over a large portion of the country upto the limits of Mahārāṣṭra. The names of no Hindu princes appear in inscriptions or on coins during this period, except in Mahārāṣṭra, where, as we have seen, the Śātavāhanas drove the foreigners and governed the country, and in the South to which the foreigners did not penetrate. During this period, it is the religion of Buddha alone that has left prominent traces, and was professed by the majority of the people. The vestiges of the time are the Stūpas, or hemispherical structures purporting to contain a relic of Buddha or of saints, and the monasteries, and temples containing smaller Stūpas or Caityas. These Stūpas or Caityas were the objects of worship amongst the Buddhists. And wherever there is a stupendous Stūpa, we find sculpture, representing Buddhistic sacred objects, such as the Bodhi or Pippala and other trees, under which Śākyamuni and the previous Buddhas attained perfection, wheels representing metaphorically, the Dharmacakra, or wheel of righteousness, which

1 VOJ. Vol. X, pp. 171-2.

2 See D. R. Bhandarkar's paper referred to before.

Buddha turned, and so forth. There are sculptures also representing events in the previous births of Buddha, about which many stories were current, and which we now find in the so-called Jātaka literature. Now, the remains of Vihāras, Caitya, and Stūpas are found in all parts of the country, including Afghanistan. Some of them contain inscriptions also, recording the gifts of public or private individuals. These gifts are the big structures themselves as well as smaller parts thereof, such as railings, pillars, and sculptures, and sometimes land or deposits of money for the maintenance of the priests. Now, from the inscriptions recording these gifts, we find the position of the persons who made them. The remains of two great Stūpas exist in Central India,—at Sāñchi in the Bhopal territory, and Bharaut between Jabbalpore and Allahabad, near Sattan, a Railway Station. From the form of characters, existing in the inscriptions found in them, the ages of the Stūpas can be approximately determined. That at Bharaut was begun about the middle of the third century before Christ, and continued to be added to, till about the end of the second century. The Sāñchi Stūpa was probably first constructed about the same time; and it continued to be an object of adoration and additional gifts till about the eighth century of the Christian era. The donors, as recorded in these two places, were often-times the Buddhist monks and nuns themselves, but the names of a great many lay-followers also occur. Thus we have gifts from Gṛhapatis or householders or land-holders; Śeṭṭhis or Śeṭhs, who occupied a prominent position in a town or village; simple traders, who are called Vāṇija or Vāṇika; Rājalipikāras or royal scribes; Lekhakas or professional writers; and even Kārmikas, or ordinary workmen. In the cave-temples in Mahārāṣṭra, which began to be excavated about the middle of the first century before Christ, and continued to increase in number, and to have additional decorations till the end of the second century after, and were the objects of adoration and resort upto about the end of the ninth century, we find, among the donors, princes and chiefs, who called themselves Mahābhojas and Mahārathis, Naigamas or merchants, Suvarṇakāras or goldsmiths, Vardhakas or carpenters, Dhānyaśreṇis or guilds of corn-dealers,

and Gṛhapatis, or ordinary householders. There are some Śakas and Yavanas also amongst them. The great cave-temple at Karla was originally excavated by Bhūtapāla, a Śeṭh of Vaijayantī; the lion-pillar in the court in front was scooped out by a Mahārathi named Agnimitra. One of the cave-temples at Nasik was the gift of Gotamī, mother of Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, and grandmother of Puḷumāyi. A monastery there was the benefaction of Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, who deposited sums of money also with the guilds of weavers and another guild at Govardhana near Nasik, out of the interest on which, new garments were to be given to the priests in the rainy season. Such money-benefactions were also made by private individuals, as recorded in the inscriptions at Nasik and Kanheri. The period that we have been speaking of, has left no trace of a building or sculpture devoted to the use of the Brahmanic religion. Of course, Brahmanism existed, and it was probably, during the period, being developed into the form which it assumed in later times. The large but unfortunately mutiliated inscription at Nānāghāṭ, which is to be referred to the second half of the first century before Christ, opens with an invocation to Dharma, Indra, Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, and seems to speak of the Dakṣiṇā, or fees given by a royal lady for the performance of several Brahmanic sacrifices. Gifts were made even by princes and chiefs to Brahmins. Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, was a patron of both Brahmins and Buddhists. Some of the Satraps of Surāṣṭra and Mālwā were probably adherents of Brahmanism, as is indicated by their adoption of the name of the god Rudra as a component of their own names. Wema-Kadphises was as we have seen, a worshipper of Śiva. In the South, we have inscriptions of Śivaskandavarman, a ruler of Kāñchi, of Hārītiputra Śātakarṇi, and of a king of Banavāsi which are to be referred to the early part of the third century after Christ, and in which grants of land to Brahmins are recorded.[1] But the religion certainly does not occupy a prominent position, and Buddhism was followed by the large mass of the people from princes down to the humble

1 Epi. Ind. Vol. VI, pp. 84ff, and Vol. I. pp. 2ff; also Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV. p. 28.

workman. Another peculiarity of the period was the use of the Pāli or the current Prakrit language in inscriptions. Even the Brahmanic inscription at Nānāghāṭ and those in the South just noticed, are composed in this dialect. Sanskrit was the language of learned Brahmins and Prakrit of ordinary people of all castes. The use of the latter, therefore, indicates a greater deference for these people than for Brahmanic learning. The inscriptions in Kāthiawāḍ, however, of the reigns of the Satrap kings are in Sanskrit and those of Uṣavadāta are in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit. But in the middle of the fourth century, the whole scene changes, and we now proceed to the consideration of the events which it presents to our view.

CHANGE OF SCENE—THE GUPTAS

I have already observed that the Guptas succeeded the Kuṣaṇas. The first prince was named Gupta, and his son was Ghaṭotkaca, both of whom are styled Mahārāja. Ghaṭotkaca's son was Candragupta I, who is styled Mahārājādhirāja, or "King of kings" in the inscriptions. It was during the time of this king that the power of the Guptas must have begun to rise. But his son Samudragupta seems to have been one of the most powerful princes of this dynasty. There is a long inscription describing his exploits, on the same pillar at Allahabad, which contains the in scriptions of Aśoka. There he is called Parākramāṅka which title is also to be found in other inscriptions as well as on his coins. He is represented to have conquered and re-established in their dominions Mahendra, king of Kosala, Vyāghrarāja, king of Mahākāntāra, Maṇṭarāja of Keraḷa and many other kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha; to have rooted out kings reigning in Aryāvarta of the names of Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Candravarman, Gaṇapatināga, Nāgasena, Acyutanandin, Balavarman and others, and probably established his supremacy over their provinces; to have reduced to submission the chiefs of the forest regions; to have exacted tribute from, and subjected to his power, the kings of Samataṭa, Dāvaka, Kāmarūpa, Nepāla, Kartṛpura, and other countries on the borders, and the tribes of Mālavas, Arjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Mādrakas, Ābhīras, Prārjunas, Sanakānikas and Kākakharaparikas; to have

re-established certain royal families which had lost their kingdoms; and to have formed alliances with Daivaputra Ṣāhi Ṣāhanuśāhi, princes of the Śaka and Muruṇḍa tribes, and with the Saiṁhaḷakas, who propitiated him with presents.[1] There is an inscription referring itself to his reign found at Eraṇ in the Sāgar district, which bears evidence to the fact that his dominions extended upto that district.[2]

He was followed by Candragupta II, one of whose inscriptions dated in the year 82, is found at Udayagiri, near Bhilasā, in Eastern Mālwā.[3] It must here be remarked that the Guptas established an era of their own, as to the initial date of which there were long controversies among antiquarians, though it was given by Alberuni, the Arabic traveller, as corresponding to 242 of the Śaka era. But the question is now settled. Alberuni's statement has been found to be correct and the first year of the Gupta era falls in 318-19 A.D.. Candragupta's date 82, therefore, corresponds to 400 A.D.. Another inscription of the same king occurs at Mathurā, showing that the Guptas had extended their power to that province which was subject before to the Kuṣanas.[4] There is one more at Gaḍhwā, near Allahabad, dated in the year 88, corresponding to 406 A. D., another at Sāñchi, dated 93 corresponding to 411 A.D., and a third at Udayagiri, which bears no date.[5] These inscriptions show that the dominions of the Guptas embraced in the time of Candragupta II, the whole of the North-Western Provinces and Mālwā and the Central Provinces. In the Udayagiri inscription which bears no date, that monarch is represented as "wonderful sunlike Brilliance" itself, and Śāba Vīrasena, who was his minister and a native of Pāṭaliputra, as having accompanied the king in his carrer of conquest (literally, "the king whose object was to conquer the whole world") to the place, *i.e.*, Udayagiri, or the region in which it was situated. The conquest of Mālwā by Candragupta thus alluded to in this inscription, took place before 400 A.D., the date of the first Udayagiri inscription. The latest

1 Fleet, Inscriptions of Early Gupta Kings, No. 1.
2 *Ibid*, No. 2.
3 *Ibid*, No. 3.
4 *Ibid*, No. 4.
5 *Ibid*. Nos. 7, 5, 6.

date of the Ujjayinī Mahākṣatrapas, is as we have seen, 310 Śaka or 388 A.D.. These were exterminated by him in that year or about a year after, a conclusion which follows from the facts that the Kṣatrapas issued new coins nearly every year, and there is no issue later than 310 Śaka.

Candragupta II was followed by Kumāragupta. There are six inscriptions of his reign — two at Gaḍhwā, one at Bilsāḍ in Eṭā district, North-Western Provinces, one at Mānkuwār, in Allahabad district, one at Mathurā, and one at Mandasor in Western Mālwā. One Gaḍhwā inscription bears the date 98, corresponding to 41 A.D., that at Bilsāḍ, the year 96, corresponding to 414 A.D., that at Mathurā, the year 113, *i.e.*, 421 A.D., that at Mandasor, the year 493 of the Mālwā era, corresponding to 437 A.D., and that at Mānkuwār, the year 129, *i.e.*, 447 A.D..

The latest known date of Candragupta II is 411 A.D., and the earliest of Kumāragupta 414, wherefore, the latter must have acceded to the throne in the interval between those two years.

Kumāragupta was followed by his son Skandagupta, of whom we have five inscriptions. One of them, that at Junāgadh in Kathiawād, represents the dyke of the celebrated Sudarśana lake to have burst in 136, and to have been repaired in 137. These years correspond to 454 and 455 A.D.. Another at Kahāuṁ, Gorakhpur district, North-Western Provinces, bears the year 141, corresponding to 459 A.D.; a third, engraved on a copperplate, and found in a stream at Indor in the Bulandshahr District, gives the year 146, *i.e.*, 464 A.D.. There is another at Bihār, and the last or fifth is engraved on a pillar at Bhitāri, Ghazipur distirct, North-Western Provinces.[1] In this inscription, a new foreign race makes its appearance for the first time—that of the Hūṇas or Huns. Skandagupta is represented to have defeated them and to have subjugated a tribe of the name of Puṣyamitras.

After Skandagupta, the power of the dynasty began to decline. There is an inscription at Eraṇ in the Sāgar distict, which bears the name of Budhagupta, and the date 165, corresponding to 483 A.D.[2].

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1 *Ibid*, Nos. 12 to 16. 2 *Ibid*, No. 19.

This Budhagupta, however, and even Skandagupta are not mentioned in the genealogy of the main branch found engraved on a certain seal discovered at Bhitāri.[1] Very likely, therefore, the family broke up, about the time of Skandagupta, into two or three branches which ruled over different provinces. The Vāyu and Viṣṇu Purāṇas, after a confused list of foreign princes and the rulers of certain provinces, state that the Guptas will rule alongside of the Gaṅgā and over Prayāga, Sāketa and Magadha.

THE HŪṆAS OR HUNS AND THE AULIKARAS.

In the inscription of the reign of Budhagupta mentioned above, a Brahman Mahāraja of the name of Mātṛ-Viṣṇu and his brother Dhanya-Viṣṇu record the erection of a Dhvajastambha or flagstaff to the god Janārdana. In another of the first year of a prince named Toramāṇa, Dhanya-Viṣṇu speaks of his brother Mātṛ-Viṣṇu as having died in the interval, and of his erecting a temple to the Boar or Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu.[2] There is another inscription at Gwalior, dated in the 15th year of Mihirakula, who is represented as Toramāṇa's son, and it records the erection of a temple of the sun by Mātṛceṭa.[3] Toramāṇa belonged to the Hūṇa race, so that it would appear that a short time after 174, G. E., or 492 A.D., the latest date of Budhagupta occurring on one of his coins, *i.e.*, about 500 A.D., the Hūṇas established their power upto the Central Provinces. But since only two princes of this race are mentioned, it appears that they did not retain it for a long time. An inscription at Mandasor in Western Mālwā represents Yaśodharman to have subjugated Mihirakala.[4] We have an inscription of the same prince, dated 589 of the Mālava era corresponding to 533 A.D.[5]. The engraver of both is the same person, and his name was Govinda. From the manner in which the different statements are made in this inscription, it appears that the family of the prince, which was known by the epithet of Aulikara, was brought into importance by Viṣṇuvardhana, who was a pre-

1 Jour. Bengal As. Society, Vol. LVIII., pp. 88ff.
2 Fleet, l.c., No. 36.
3 *Ibid*, No. 37.
4 *Ibid*, No. 33.
5 *Ibid*, No. 35.

decessor of Yaśodharman, and it was he who first assumed the title of "Supreme Lord, King of kings." From this date of Yaśodharman, therefore, it may be safely concluded that the two Hūṇa princes could not have reigned for more than forty years on the Cis-Satlaj side of India.

VIGOROUS BRAHMANIC REVIVAL AND RENOVATION—SUPERSESSION OF THE PRAKRITS BY THE SANSKRIT.

Now, in Candragupta's inscription at Mathurā, and Skandagupta's Bihār and Bhitāri inscriptions, Samudragupta is represented as having performed the Aśvamedha, which is pointedly spoken of as having gone out of use for a long time. This is the first instance of the Brahmanic revival under this dynasty. This achievement was considered so important that Samudragupta struck golden coins or medals, on the obverse of which is the figure of a horse let loose, and the title Aśvamedhaparākrama, or "one who performed the achievement of a horse-sacrifice" on the reverse.[1] Similar coins, bearing on the reverse the legend Aśvamedha-Mahendra have been found. Mahendra was a title assumed by Kumāragupta, as is evident from some of his coins on which his proper name as well as the title occur.[2] It appears, therefore that he too performed the horse-sacrifice indicative of supreme sovereignty. Candragupta II, Kumāragupta, and Skandagupta are called Parama-Bhāgavatas on their coins, which shows that they were worshippers of Bhagavat Vāsudeva. One of the two Udayagiri inscriptions dated 82 G.E.=400 A.D., is engraved on a panel over two figures,—one of a four-armed god attended by two female figures, and the other of a twelve-armed goddess. The god may be Viṣṇu and the goddess Caṇḍī. The other Udayagiri inscription records the dedication of a cave to Śaṁbhu. The Bilsād inscription of Kumāragupta speaks of the building of a Pratolī or gallery in the temple of Svāmi-Mahāsena by Dhruvaśarman in the year 414 A.D.. The Bihār inscription represents the erection of a yūpa or a sacrificial post, and that on the Bhitāri pillar, records the installation of an image of Śārṅgin and the grant

1 JRAS, 1889, p. 65.
2 *Ibid*, pp. 110, 105, 103.

of a village by Skandagupta. In the Junāgadh inscription, a temple of Cakrabhṛt (Viṣṇu) is spoken of as having been erected in 456 A.D. by Cakrapālita, son of Parṇadatta, Skandagupta's governor of Surāṣṭra. The Indore inscription of the time of Skandagupta records the endowment of Devaviṣṇu in 464 A.D., for lighting a lamp in a temple of the sun. The Mandasor inscription speaks of the erection of a temple of the sun by a guild of weavers in 437 A.D., and its repair by the same in 473 A.D.. According to Budhagupta's Erāṇ inscription, Mātṛ-Viṣṇu and his brother Dhanya-Viṣṇu erected, as mentioned above, a Dhvajastambha or flagstaff, to the god Janārdana in 483 A.D.. Mātṛ-Viṣṇu is called "a great devotee of Bhagavat," *i.e.*, Viṣṇu.[1] The inscriptions of minor chiefs and private individuals during this period record grants of villages to Brahmans,[2] in the years 474, 481, 492, 495, and 509 A.D., to the temples of Piṣṭapurī[3] (527 A.D. and 532 A.D.), Bhagavat or Viṣṇu[4] (495 A.D.), and Āditya or the sun,[5] (511 A.D.), the erection of a dhvaja of Viṣṇu,[6] grants of villages for the performance of the five great rites,[7] (570 A.D.), the erection of a yūpa, or sacrificial post on the completion of a Puṇḍarīka[8] sacrifice, the establishment of Sattras or feeding places for Brahmans and others,[9] &c. &c.

Here we have ample evidence of a powerful upheaval and the sacrificial rites, and the gods and the goddesses adopted into the Brahmanic Pantheon to which, except in one instance, there was not even an allusion in the epigraphical records of the country for more than five centuries, suddenly present themselves to our view about the end of the fourth century; and appear uninterruptedly for the whole of the subsequent period of about two centuries covered by

1 अत्यन्तभगवद्भक्त.
2 Fleet, l.c., Nos. 21, 22, 26, 27, 28.
3 *Ibid*, Nos. 25 and 31.
4 *Ibid*, No. 27.
5 *Ibid*, No. 28.
6 *Ibid*, No. 32.
7 *Ibid*, No. 38.
8 *Ibid*, No. 59. The date of the Inscription is 428; but the Era is not specified. If it is the Mālava Era the date is 372 A.D; if the Śaka, it is 506 A.D.. I incline to the latter supposition.
9 *Ib.* No. 64.

the inscriptions published in a collected form by Dr. Fleet. The worship of Śiva, Viṣṇu, the Sun, and Mahāsena seems to have become popular with all classes from princes and chiefs to ordinary individuals.

But a still more significant change is the universal adoption of the Sanskrit language for the documents inscribed on stone and metal instead of the Pali or Prakrit. It indicates the enhancement of Brahmanic influence. The Vernacular dialects had acquired such an importance that not only were they mostly used, as we have seen, in inscriptions, but a number of literary works presupposed by Hāla's Saptaśatī, and others like the Bṛhatkathā, attributed to Guṇāḍhya, were composed in them in the second or third century of the Christian era. Buddhism had, of course, used one of them for all its religious and literary purposes. But now we find that Sanskrit, or the language of learned Brahmans, rose in general estimation, and acquired such an overwhelming importance that the Vernaculars were driven out of the field ; it was more generally studied and a new and more brilliant period in the history of Sanskrit literature dawned about this time.

REVIVAL IN THE SOUTH

The influence of this vigorous Brahmanical revival in the North extended itself to the Deccan. Of the early Cālukyas whose dynasty was established about the end of the fifth century, Pulakeśī I solemnised the Aśvamedha sacrifice, and several later princes belonging to the family performed the other great sacrifices, and grants of land were made to Brahmans. A cave temple to Viṣṇu was dedicated by Maṅgalīśa in Śaka 500 or 578 A.D., at Bādāmi. And other temples to the same god, and to Śiva or Maheśvara were constructed in several other places. The worship of Śiva in the terrific form of Kāpālikeśvara seems also to have come into existence.

DECLINE OF BUDDHISM—RISE OF MAHĀYĀNISM.

While Brahmanism thus rose in importance and popular favour the influence of Buddhism declined in a corresponding degree. The number of records of Buddhist gifts during this period is smaller.

In the Sānchi inscription of Candragupta (411 A.D.) is recorded a grant by a royal military officer for feeding ten Buddhist mendicants and lighting two lamps in the jewel-house.[1] The Mānkuwar inscription of Kumāragupta (447 A.D.) records the installation of an image of Buddha by a Bhikṣu of the name of Budhamitra.[2] Harisvāminī, wife of Sanasiddha, records in 449 A.D., in an inscription at Sānchi, the grant of twelve Dīnāras as a fixed capital, out of the interest on which a mendicant belonging to the Āryasaṅgha was to be fed daily, and of three Dīnāras for the jewel-house, out of the interest on which three lamps were to be daily lighted before the Blessed Buddha, and of one Dīnāra, for the seats of four Buddhas, out of the interest on which a lamp was to be lighted daily at the seats.[3] An image of Buddha was set up at Mathurā in 453 A.D., another in 548 A.D., and others at Deoriyā in the Allahabad District, Kasiā in the Gorakpur District, and in Buddhagayā.[4] The last was set up by Mahānāman who also constructed a temple (Prāsāda) of Lokaśāstṛ in 587 A.D.[5].

The language of these inscriptions, unlike that of those of the preceding period, is Sanskrit, and it will be seen that images of Buddha were set up and worshipped, like those of the Brahmanic gods. In both these respects it cannot be denied that Buddhism became subject to the same influences which were in operation in the case of Brahmanism, or rather, appropriated those points in the rival system, which increased its popularity about this time. The principles of faith in personal beings and devotion to them were incorporated into their creed; and Sanskrit was resorted to, to confer dignity on their religious books and teachers. The use of this learned language shows, at the same time, that, like Brahmanism, Buddhism now assumed a more exclusive character, and ceased to appeal to the people at large in their own language; and the sphere of its influence became much narrower. Thus it appears that the revival and renovation of Brahmanism went on side by side with corresponding changes in Buddhism, which impressed on it the form and character known by

1 *Ibid*, No. 5. 2 *Ibid*, No. 11. 3 *Ibid*, No. 62.
4 *Ibid*, Nos. 63, 70, 68, 69 and 72. 5 *Ibid*, No. 71.

the name of Mahāyāna. The earlier form of Buddhism appealing only to the moral feelings of man, had split up into a number of schools and exhausted itself; and its place was taken up by Brahmanism and Mahāyānism. But the charm of the names Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha, the three jewels, was lost ; and Mahāyānism was unable to regain what had been lost by primitive Buddhism. Compared with revived Brahmanism it was feeble; and from the first, it had to face the severe attacks of its renovated rival.

THE JAINAS.

We have two Jaina inscriptions also in this period, recording the installation of images in the years 424 A.D., and 459 A.D., at Udayagiri and Kahāuṁ respectively.[1] Another inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta dated 113 G.E. or 431 A.D., records the setting up of an image at Mathurā.[2] It would thus appear that that religion had not many adherents or patrons about this time.

CAUSES OF THE PREVIOUS DECLINE OF BRAHMANISM AND OF ITS REVIVAL AND RENOVATION AT THIS PERIOD.

The vigorous Brahmanical revival we have been considering must have been due, in a large measure, to the natural decay of early Buddhism. It was this Buddhism that had previously supplanted Brahmanism in popular favour,—and for the four or five centuries that it enjoyed the ascendency it had acquired, Brahmanism and the Sanskrit language and literature were neglected. The Brahmans themselves regarded their decline as due to the triumph of Buddhism. Subandhu in one of his puns in the Vāsavadattā tells us that the Buddha doctrine had brought about the destruction of the system based on the words of the Veda.[3] If so, the Brahmanic revival must be regarded as synchronous with the decline of early Buddhism and the rise of Mahāyānism. According to all accounts it was Nāgārjuna, the contemporary of Kaniṣka, that gave a distinct form to this Buddhism[4] , though the movement may have begun a little earlier. As, according to our view, Kaniṣka

1 *Ibid*, Nos. 61 and 15. 2 Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 210.

3 कश्चिद्बौद्धसिद्धान्त इव क्षपितश्रुतिवचनदर्शनोभवत् । p. 297, Hall's Edition.

4 Wassiljew, Germ. Tran. p. 128.

reigned in the last quarter of the third century, the revival of Brahmanism must have already begun before that period.

But the ascendency of early Buddhism was not the only cause that had kept down Brahmanism. For about a century before Christ and three centuries and a half after, there was no powerful Brahmanic prince; and this is shown by the Gupta inscriptions already noticed, which state that the horse-sacrifice, indicative of supreme sovereignty, had gone out of use for a long time, and also by the fact, that no inscription or coin reports the existence of such a prince during the period. This circumstance must have been the result of the political condition of the country. It was overrun again and again by foreign invaders each of whom established his power for a short time and had to yield to another. The Śakas of Mālwā and Kaṭhiawāḍ only retained their sovereignty foı about three hundred years. The argument which has been advanced, that these foreign princes held a comparatively small portion of the country, and could not have influenced its literary and religious condition for the worse, has no weight. The unsettled condition of the country consequent on their frequent invasions rendered the rise of a supreme Brahmanic ruler impossible; and the foreigners themselves could not be expected to favour Brahmanism in a manner to enable it to deprive Buddhism of its ascendency. Some of them were no doubt Hinduized, but they were not Brahminized. And the Brahmans themselves complained of their being neglected by the Yavanas, Śakas and Pahlavas, as will hereafter be shown in connection with a passage from Manu and the Mahābhārata.

PATRONS OF THE BRAHMANIC REVIVAL AND RENOVATION—WEMA-KADPHISES.

Wema-Kadphises, however, seems to have become a more thorough Hindu than any other foreign prince, and in his time, the Brahmanic revival may be understood to have truly begun, *i.e.*, in the middle of the third century of the Christian era. We have seen that his coins bear a figure of Nandin and Śiva on the reverse, and he styles himself a worshipper of Maheśvara or a member of the Māheśvara sect. The Śakas had figures of Greek deities on their

coins, and there are no distinct indications on them, or on those of the Parthians, of any Indian deity. But with Wema-Khadphises what might almost be called a revolution in this respect begins. His Kuṣana successors continue their respect towards Brahmanic deities, but extend it also to those of the Greeks and Zoroastrians as well as to Buddha. Kadphises, however, could not have been a patron of the old Vedic religion, nor of Brahmans in particular as a sacred caste, nor of the Sankrit language and literature. An all-sided revival and renovation could proceed only under the patronage of Hindu princes. And such were the Guptas.

THE GUPTAS — SAMUDRAGUPTA AND CANDRAGUPTA II, OR VIKRAMĀDITYA ŚAKĀRI.

The fact that the inscriptions recording gifts to Brahmanic deities, and for the daily sacrifices, begin about the end of the fourth century, shows unmistakably that the Brahmanic revival derived its force and vigour from the patronage of the Gupta princes. Samudragupta and Kumāragupta performed, as we have seen, the horse-sacrifice, which had gone out of use. The former is represented on his Allahabad inscription to have acquired the title of "Prince of poets" by writing works which served as models for learned men, or pleased them.[1] He patronized poets, and thus put an end to the hostility between good poetry and worldly prosperity.

The tradition about a Vikramāditya, who was Śakāri or enemy of the Śakas, and drove them and other foreigners out of the country and patronized learning, is appropriately applicable only to Candragupta II of all the princes who flourished before him and after and whose names have come down to us. For he conquered Mālwā, as we have seen, before 400 A.D.,—and probably in 388 or 389 A.D.—and exterminated the Śakas, *i.e.*, the Satraps of Mālwā, whose latest date is 388 A.D., and drove out the Kuṣanas, since he is the earliest Gupta prince whose inscription is found at Mathurā, a town which belonged to the Kuṣanas.[3] He assumed the title of

1 विद्वज्जनोपजीव्यानेककाव्यक्रियाभिः प्रतिष्ठितकविराजशब्दस्य । Fleet, l. c. No. 1, line 27.

2 सत्काव्यश्रीविरोधान्बुधगुणितगुणाज्ञाहतानेव कृत्वा ।

3 D. R. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS, Vol. XX. pp. 31-32.

Vikramāditya, which we find on his coins.[1] He made Ujjayinī his capital. For, certain chieftains of the name of Guttas (Guptas) of Guttal in the Dharwar district, give themselves in their inscriptions the title of Ujjayinīpuravarādhīśvara, which, like similar titles, found in other places, signifies that they belonged to a family which once reigned in glory at Ujjayinī. They trace their descent through Vikramāditya, specified as king of Ujjayinī, and are styled full moons of the ocean of nectar in the shape of the lineage of Candragupta. Ujjayinī was thus the capital of the Guptas from whom the Dharwar Guptas derived their descent. The Candragupta and Vikramāditya mentioned in their inscriptions are, it will be observed, one and the same person, and it is but right that he should be mentioned above all; for it was he who drove away the foreigners, and first established himself at Ujjayinī. In one place, however, instead of Ujjayinī we have Pāṭalī in the title, showing that Pāṭaliputra, the original capital, had not been forgotten by the Southern Guptas.[2] There is no other Vikramāditya whose existence is authenticated by any contemporary document, and who can be construed as the destroyer of Śakas. The supposition of the existence of one in the middle of the sixth century has no ground to stand on.

Now, though Candragupta II was Vikramāditya Śakāri, and the patron of learning, it is by no means necessary to suppose that all the celebrated nine gems flourished at his court. Tradition often jumbles together persons and things belonging to different times and places. Varāhamihira, who died in 509 Śaka, or 587 A.D., and the epoch year of whose Pañcasiddhāntikā is 427 Śaka, or 505 A.D., cannot have flourished at the court of Candragupta-Vikramāditya, who died between 411 and 414 A.D.. But that Vikramāditya Śakāri was a patron of learning, is stated by the Rājataraṅgiṇī. He is said to have made a poet of the name of Mātṛgupta king of Kāśmir, and Mātṛgupta had a poet dependent on him of the name of Meṇṭha or Bhartṛmeṇṭha, so that

1 JRAS, 1889, pp. 91, 82, 78, 76.

2 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I., Part II. Dr. Fleet's Dynasties of the Kanarese District, p. 578.

these two were contemporaries of Candragupta-Vikramāditya. The date assigned by Cunningham to Mātṛgupta is 430 A.D., which is not far removed from that of the Gupta prince as determined from his inscriptions. Meṇṭha has been associated with Vikramāditya by the compilers of anthologies who ascribe a certain verse to their joint authorship.[1]

KĀLIDĀSA.

And some of the nine gems, perhaps Kālidāsa himself, may have lived during the reign of Candragupta-Vikramāditya. Mallinātha, in his comment on verse 14 of the Meghadūta, states that there is in that verse an implied allusion to an opponent of Kālidāsa, named Diṅnāga. This person is supposed to be the same as the celebrated Buddhist logician of that name, known also to Brahmanic writers; and the supposition is, I think, very probable. He is said to have been a pupil of a Buddhist patriarch of the name of Vasubandhu; and the date of the latter, and consequently that of his pupil and of Kālidāsa, has been determined by Professor Max Müller to be the middle of the sixth century. But the Professor goes, I think, upon the chronological traditions reported by the Chinese, and does not attach due weight to certain facts, which necessitate our placing Vasubandhu earlier. One of Vasubandhu's works was translated into Chinese in the year 404 A.D. and another about the year 405 A.D.[2]. This shows that Vasubandhu must have flourished before 404 A.D.. At the same time, the Chinese authorities make him a contemporary of King Vikramāditya of Śrāvastī,[3] or of Sāketa, since the town was situated in that province. If he was a contemporary of that King, the King may have lived in the last quarter of the fourth century. Sāketa, or Ayodhyā, over which he ruled, was a province belonging to the Guptas; and the attitude of the King towards the Bauddhas was hostile, as he convoked assemblies of learned Buddhists and Brahmans, for religious disputations, in which the

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1 लिम्पतीव तमोङ्गानि वर्षतीवाञ्जनं नभः। which occurs in the Mṛcchakaṭika.

2 Bunyiu Nanjio, Catalogue, Nos. 1188 and 1218.

3 Wassiljew, Germ. Trans., p. 84.

former were defeated and lost the King's support.[1] For these reasons, the Vikramāditya, whose contemporary Vasubandhu was, must, in all likelihood, have been the Brahmanic Gupta prince, Candragupta-Vikramāditya. And if he held his court at Śrāvastī, and is represented to have ruled over Sāketa, the time referred to must be that previous to the conquest of Mālwā, which took place about 389 A.D., and after which the King in all probability resided at Ujjayinī. Vasubandhu therefore lived in the last quarter of the fourth century; and his pupil Diṅnāga, about the end of that century; and if Kālidāsa was his contemporary, he too must have lived about that time, and thus, have been one of the gems at Vikramāditya's court.

LITERARY REVIVAL AND RENOVATION.

If then after several centuries of neglect on the part of princes and people, Brahmanism began to rise in influence and importance under Wema-Kadphises, about the middle of the third century after Christ, and made rapid strides in the time of the Gupta Emperors, we might expect the Brahmans to make every effort to widen their influence and render it permanent. And this is what, I think, we do find. With that object, they gave a new and more popular shape to the literature of their creed, and re-arranged it in a manner to meet the wants, and be in harmony with the changed feelings, of an increased number of followers, and strengthen their hold over them. They made a great endeavour to place it on a philosophical basis, and to show that the creed of their opponents had no such basis. This, therefore, was the age when metrical Smṛtis, Purāṇas, and Bhāṣyas or commentaries containing explanatory, apologetic, and controversial matter, began to be written; and the general literary impulse was communicated to other branches of learning including poetry. We shall now proceed to the elucidation of this point.

WORKS ON RELIGIOUS LAW.

In the olden times, the works on religious law existed in the form of Sūtras or prose aphorisms, and they were identified with parti-

1 Hiuen Tsang's Travels, Beal's Trans. Vol. I., pp. 106 ff.; Wassiljew, Germ. Trans., p. 240.

cular schools or Śākhās of Brahmans. We have thus the Dharma- and the Gṛhya-Sūtras of Āpastamba, of Baudhāyana, Kaṭha, Āśvalāyana, &c. But afterwards books written in Anuṣṭubh ślokas came to be used. They prescribed the same rules as those given in the (Dharma —) and Gṛhya Sūtras, and in some cases, a close resemblance has been found to exist between the words and expressions used in the Sūtras and the metrical Law-books or Smṛtis. Thus the Sūtras on the Vināyakaśānti in the Kaṭha Sūtra are reproduced almost word for word in the corresponding portion of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti.[1] But in the new books the exposition is plainer than in the Sūtras, which were primarily meant to be supplemented by oral explanation. Here, therefore, is an attempt to disentangle the Brahmanic religious law from the narrow schools to which it was before attached, and put it in a form intelligible and applicable to all Brahmanic Hindus. Hence is the choice of the Anuṣṭubh ślokas instead of the old Sūtras, as it was used ordinarily for all literary purposes. But in the revised Hindu Law, certain customs such as the killing of cows even for sacrificial purposes, and levirate—the feeling against which had grown strong—were prohibited; while a compromise was effected in the case of others, which had not become unpopular to that extent. The old precept, for instance, about eating the flesh of five species of animals, was hedged round by a number of restrictions; but in order to satisfy the claims of the old Vedic religion, the slaughter of some of them was freely allowed in religious rites. These metrical Smṛtis, therefore, it would not be wrong to refer to about the Kuṣana-Gupta period.

There is a passage in the Smṛti of Manu, in which it is stated that certain native Indian tribes, such as the Puṇḍrakas and Draviḍas, and the Yavanas, Śakas and Pahlavas, were originally Kṣatriyas, but they became Śūdras by their setting the Brahmans at defiance and gradually ceasing to perform the religious rites.[2] In a chapter in the Anuśā-

1 Von Bradke on Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra, Jour. Germlan. Or, S., Vo. XXXVI., pp. 427ff.

2 X. 43-44.

sanika Book of the Mahābhārata, Bhīṣma says to Yudhiṣṭhira: "The highest duty of a crowned king is to worship learned Brahmans; they should be protected as one protects oneself or one's children; and be respected, bowed to, and revered as if they were one's parents. If Brahmans are contented, the whole country prospers; if they are discontented and angry, everything goes to destruction. They can make a god not a god, and a not-god, a god. One whom they praise prospers; one whom they reproach, becomes miserable. The different Kṣatriya tribes, Śakas, Yavanas, and Kāmbojas became Śūdras through not seeing or following Brahmans."[1] In these passages, a Kṣatriya origin is supposed in order that the Śūdrahood of these tribes, which was consequent on their being beyond the Aryan pale, and which, as stated before, is plainly asserted by Patañjali in the case of two of them, may appear as the result of their not paying deference to Brahmans. This shows that the neglect of the sacerdotal caste by the Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas and other tribes, was uppermost in the minds of those who invented a Kṣatriya origin for them; and the passages and especially the chapter in the Mahāhhārata, look as if they were written when the foreign domination had come to a close, and the Brahmans had fully triumphed, and were anxious to preserve their newly gained influence. The chapter, therefore, must have been interpolated into the epic in the Gupta period, and the Smṛti of Manu —based on a previous Sūtra work and traditional or floating texts[2]— composed at about the same time. The Mahābhārata, however, already existed in its full form at the period; for it is mentioned by name in copperplate inscriptions of the years 174 G.E. (492-3 A.D.,) and 177 G.E. (495-6 A.D.) and two more, and as a Śatasāhasrī, or a work of a hundred thousand verses, in one of the year 214 G.E. (532-3 A.D.).[3] But it can hardly admit of a reasonable doubt that it was retouched about this period.

WORKS ON THE ŚACRIFICIAL RITUAL.

The works on the sacrificial ritual, and specially the Bhāṣyas or great commentaries on the Sūtras of the several Vedas or Śākhās,

1 Chapter. 33. 2 See below.

3 Fleet, Early Gupta Inscr, Nos. 26, 27, 28, 30 and 31.

must have begun to be written about this time. Since the sacrificial religion was being revived, the necessity of a definite and authoritative ritual was felt; and as the sacrifices had been out of use for a long time, a knowledge of the ritual was rare and vague. The names of the writers of the Bhāṣyas and other works on the ritual, end in the honorific title Svāmin, such as a Devasvāmin, the commentator on the Sūtra of Āśvalāyana; Bhavasvāmin, on that of Baudhāyana; Dhūrtasvāmin, on that of Āpastamba; Agnisvāmin, on that of Lāṭyāyana, &c. This title we find used in Central India in the last quarter of the fifth century, and the first of the sixth. In the copperplate charters dated 474-5 A.D., 481-2 A.D., and 509-10 A.D., and issued by the Parivrājaka Mahārājas, occur such names as Gopasvāmin,[1] Bhavasvāmin,[2] Devasvāmin the son of Agnisvāmin, Govindasvāmin,[3] &c., among the grantees. In the Deccan, we find the title affixed to the names of some of the grantees in the copperplates, issued by the princes of the early Cālukya dynasty, in the second half of the seventh century and the early part of the eighth; and we have such names as Keśavasvāmin, Karkasvāmin, and Devasvāmin, which are the names of writers of commentaries on the sacrificial Sūtras, and other works on the ritual. The title Svāmin is indicative of the period between the fourth and the tenth centuries; for we do not find it used later.

PURĀṆAS.

The idea of recasting the Purāṇas into their present form must have originated about this time. They existed long before, since they are alluded to in the Upaniṣads and Śrautasūtras, but their contents must have been strictly in accordance with the rule given by Amarasiṁha in his lexicon;—they embraced an account of the creation and dissolution of the world, of the different families of Ṛṣis and princes, and of the deeds of the most heroic among them, and of the Manvantaras, or different ages of the world. But now the necessity of glorifying the different gods and goddesses, whose worship was rising in favour, and of firmly inculcating other religious duties, had been felt; and new

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1 Fleet, l.c., No. 21. 2 *Ibid*, No. 22. 3 *Ibid*, No. 23.

Purāṇas were composed, having the frame-work of the old but with new matter introduced on every occasion. Thus, if we compare the chapters on Creation in the Vāyu, the Liṅga, and the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas, we shall find not only a similarity of contents but of language also. The Viṣṇu contains an abridged account of the matter; but often-times, the words are the same. Most of the existing Purāṇas,—perhaps all—were written to promote the worship of particular deities, Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Durgā in their several forms, or to strengthen the authority of the religious practices that had begun to prevail. The Vāyu appears to be one of the oldest of these works, as it is quoted in Śaṅkarācārya's Bhāṣya. It mentions the Guptas, as I have already observed, as ruling alongside of the Gaṅgā, over Prayāga, Sāketa and Magadha. If this verse has undergone no corruption and was advisedly put in, the Purāṇa, in which we find it, must have been written before Candragupta-Vikramāditya conquered Mālwā and Mathurā and drove out the foreigners, that is, before the last quarter of the fourth century. The Viṣṇu has the text in a corrupt form. As the Purāṇa editors did not care very much for the matter, which did not immediately concern their purpose, they were not careful to give the original before them correctly, and even misunderstood it. The Viṣṇu is evidently later than the Vāyu. The Purāṇas began to be recast, when the worship of Hindu deities rose in popular estimation—about the time of Wema-Kadphises, *circa* 250 A.D., and the process continued through the Gupta period to a much later date, and new Purāṇas appeared from time to time; and it has hardly ceased even to this day, since we find Māhātmyas springing up now and then, though not Purāṇas in a complete shape.

FLOATING LITERATURE.

In considering the question of the recasting of the works on the religious creed of the Brahmans, and those on mythology, it should be borne in mind, that the art of writing was introduced into India at a comparatively late period, and even afterwards was resorted to, very rarely. Hence, literary works and detached verses, con-

taining religious and moral precepts and beautiful poetic sentiments, were, in the olden times, composed and transmitted orally. In the case of the latter, the name of the author was forgotten; and there was thus a floating mass of anonymous verses in the mouths of the learned. When, therefore, systematic writing had to be resorted to, to give fixity and permanence to the creed, and when writing came to be generally used even for purposes of profane literature, these floating verses were appropriated or used by several writers. Hence it is, that we often find the same verses in such works as the Smṛti of Manu, the Mahābhārata, and even in Pāli Buddhistic works, and sometimes, though very rarely, in dramatic plays and poems also. This source, therefore, was also drawn upon by the writers of Smṛtis and Purāṇas in the Gupta period, in addition to those already indicated.

ASTRONOMY.

Like the Dharma and legendary lore, the astronomy of the Hindus was also recast on the same principle as that which guided the re-edition of those two branches, namely to put it in a form suited to the condition of the new times. Hence, the old astronomical elements were combined with such ones of a Greek origin, as had found acceptance among the Hindus, and some new elements, discovered or thought out by the writers themselves being added, the works known as the original five Siddhāntas arose.[1] As in the case of the new works on the first two subjects, the name of a profane author was not connected with these works; but it was expressly stated or left to be understood that they were composed by old Munis or gods. Dr. Thibaut thinks that two of them – the Romaka and the Pauliśa—must have been composed not later than 400 A.D.. Probably all the Siddhāntas were written about the middle of the fourth century or even earlier, especially as they were held in reverence by Varāhamihira who wrote about them in the middle of the sixth century. A direct borrowing from any particular Greek work is not contended for by any body. As in

1 Thibaut, Introduction to his Edition of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, pp. xlixff.

the case of the art of coinage, the knowledge of some elements of Greek astronomy, must have reached the Hindus through the Bactrians, the Śakas, and the other foreign races with whom they came in contact; and this was made use of, in their works, when the Brahmans gained or regained influence in the fourth century. All the celebrated Indian astronomers flourished after this period. Āryabhaṭṭa was born in 476 A.D., and Varāhamihira died, as already stated, in 587 A.D..

MĪMĀṀSĀ.

Subandhu in his Vāsavadattā tells us that the doctrine of Tathāgata or Buddha was destroyed or attacked by those who followed the system of Jaimini.[1] The earliest of these followers whose works are extant, is Śabarasvāmin, the author of the Mīmāṁsā-bhāṣya. Śabarasvāmin establishes the existence of the soul as an independent entity, and not identical with the feelings, which are phenomenal only, against the Bauddhas generally, and the reality of the external world against the followers of the Yogācāra School, and refutes the nihilism taught by the Mādhyamika School.[2] The Yogācāra School was founded by Āryāsaṅga, or Asaṅga, who was the elder brother of Vasubandhu, the preceptor of Diṅnāgācārya. Āryāsaṅga was thus a contemporary of Vasubandhu,[3] and lived in the last quarter of the fourth century. Śabarasvāmin, therefore, probably composed his Bhāṣya on Jaimini, in the fifth century, and we have seen that the honorific title, Svāmin which he bore, was in use in that century. Kumārila was the writer of a Vārtika on the Bhāṣya, and he was a strong combatant. He flourished about the end of the seventh century. There was another school of the Mīmāṁsā, thoroughly atheistic, founded by Prabhākara. But it appears to have been soon neglected. All these writers laboured also to establish the authoritative-

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1 In the pun contained in the expression केचिज्जैमिनिमतानुसारिण इव तथागतमतध्वंसिनः ।

2 Bibl. Ind. Ed. pp. 19 ff., 8, 9. Kumārila, in his Ślokavārtika, indicates that Śabara refutes in the last two cases the doctrines of the Yogācāra and Mādhyamika Schools.

3 Wassiljew, Germ. Trans., pp. 146, 226 and 237.

ness of the Vedas and their eternity, against the objections urged by the Buddhists and Jainas.

LOGIC, DIALECTICS, AND SĀṂKHYA.

Buddhists and Brahmans carried on controversies in the field of logic also. The well-known passage in the beginning of Vācaspati's work, entitled Vārtikatātparyaṭīkā, gives us valuable information about the matter. "The revered Akṣapāda, having composed the Śāstra, calculated to lead to eternal bliss, and an exposition of it having been given by Pakṣilasvāmin, what is it that remains and requires that a Vārtika should be composed? Though the author of the Bhāṣya has given an exposition of the Śāstra, still modern (scholars) Diṅnāga and others, having enveloped it in the darkness of fallacious arguments, that exposition is not sufficient for determining the truth; hence the author of the Uddyota dispels the darkness by his work—the Uddyota, *i.e.*, light (torch)."[1] Vācaspati here calls Diṅnāga modern, in comparison with Pakṣilasvāmin or Vātsyāyana, the author of the Bhāṣya. If he had correct information, Vātsyāyana must be supposed to have lived about two or more centuries before Diṅnāga. But it can hardly be expected that he should have a correct, historical knowledge of the matter. It is, therefore, not unlikely, especially in view of the fact that the title Svāmin is given to the author, that he flourished about half a century before Diṅnāga, *i.e.*, about the middle of the fourth century. Bhāradvāja or the author of the Uddyota, is, as is well known, mentioned by Subandhu, who again is praised by Bāṇa in the middle of the seventh century. He may therefore have flourished in the middle of the sixth century, or even earlier.—In later times, the Buddhist doctrines in logic and metaphysics were criticised by the Vedāntins Śaṁkarācārya and his pupil Sureśvara.

The Sāṁkhya philosophy also was revived by Īśvarakṛṣṇa, who wrote the Sāṁkhya-Kārikās. The oldest commentary on the work is that by Gauḍapādācārya. The Kārikās and the commentary were translated into Chinese between the years 557 A. D.,

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1 Vizianagaram Series, p. 1.

and 569 A.D.. The Kārikās are in the Āryā metre; and this metre is used by Āryabhaṭṭa and others, and appears to have been a favourite one with the writers of the period. An author quoted by Dr. Hall says that Kālidāsa composed the Kārikās in the name of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, or using the name Īśvarakṛṣṇa.[1] Whether this is true or not, all that we know about Īśvarakṛṣṇa, is not inconsistent with the supposition that he flourished in the beginning of the fifth century.

ORNATE POETRY.

Sanskrit poetry was cultivated and appreciated more generally in this period, than it could have been in the preceding ages, when the language itself was not generally studied, and the Prakrits were in favour. I have already spoken about Kālidāsa and Bhartṛmeṇṭha. Though the dates of all the poets, from whose works we have excerpts in our anthologies are not known, my general feeling is that none of the writers of ornate poetry quoted therein is older than the fourth or the end of the third century. Aśvaghoṣa, the author of the Buddhacarita, which has often been compared to Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa, was a contemporary of Kaniṣka, as is admitted by all, and lived, according to our interpretation of the Kuṣana dates, at the end of the third, and the beginning of the fourth century.

Professor Max Müller started several years ago the theory of the "Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature." It was powerfully contested by several able scholars, and now it seems almost to have been given up. But there is no question that the inscriptions place clearly before us the facts of the decline of Brahmanism, the ascendancy of early Buddhism, and the neglect of the Sanskrit language and of the cultivation of the Prakrits, from about the first century before Christ to about the middle of the fourth, and a powerful Brahmanic revival about the end of the century. This phenomenon may be called "The Revival and Renovation of Brahmanism and of the Sanskrit Language and Literature." Professor Max Müller placed the Śakāri Vikramāditya in the middle of the sixth century, and

1 Hall, Sāṁkhyasāra, Preface, p. 29. I understand the passage ईश्वरकृष्णनाम्ना कालिदासेन कृताः कारिकाः as in the text.

assigned that period to the nine gems, and consequently later dates to the whole of the modern Sanskrit literature. I have identified him with Candragupta-Vikramāditya of the Gupta dynasty, who reigned about the end of the fourth century, and have referred Kālidāsa to that period. Under this supposition, most of the arguments, used by the late Professor Bühler lose their weight; and the only Sanskrit inscription left for him to go upon, is that of Rudradāman at Girnar of the year 150 A.D.. But, according to my way of understanding the matter, ornate poetry was not undeveloped or unknown in the centuries of Brahmanic depression ; but the language chiefly used for its cultivation, was one or other of the Prakrits or Vernaculars, and Sanskrit was resorted to rarely. I attach full weight to the argument based upon the specimens of Sanskrit poetry occurring in the Mahābhāṣya. But I maintain that, like Brahmanism itself, it had not many votaries, and was not extensively cultivated. With the restoration of Brahmanic influence in the Gupta period, Sanskrit poetry received a fresh start along with the other branches of literature we have passed under review; and just as there were earlier works in those branches, so were there earlier poetic works. The decline in the previous period was due, not to any positive hostility of the foreign rulers, but to the popularity of early Buddhism and of the Prakrit languages; and the only way in which the foreigners exercised a baneful influence was, as has been already indicated, by not patronizing the Brahmanic learning in the manner, in which a Brahmanic universal sovereign would have done, and by rendering, by their frequent incursions and their power, the rise of such a one impossible.

THE SĀṀKHYA PHILOSOPHY.

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Of the six systems of philosophy regarded as orthodox that of the Sāṁkhyas is one. The Sāṁkhya doctrines claim a very high antiquity. Perhaps the earliest philosophical speculations of the Indian Aryans ran in this direction, and in that of a kindred system known in later times as the Vedānta. Some of the terms characteristic of the Sāṁkhya School are to be met with in the Upaniṣads;[1] and though Śaṁkarācārya in his Vedānta Bhāṣya has brought forward very elaborate arguments [2] to prove that the terms have no reference to that system but to his own, an unsectarian reader can have very little difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that the Sāṁkhya doctrines are set forth in those places. There is scarcely a Purāṇa [3] that does not give an account of the creation of the universe in accordance with this system, though in a greatly modified form, and in a manner which indicates that the original significance of the Sāṁkhya doctrines, as I conceive it, was not clearly

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1. Kaṭha Up., Bib. Ind. page, 114-15; Śvetāśvatara Up., Bib. Ind. page 336-37. and Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad 6-10.

2. Vedānta Sūtra Bhāṣya, chap. I, pāda 4, adhikaraṇa. I-II.

3. See Bhāgavata, sk. III. chap. V; Mātsya, Poona edn. Chap. III.; Agni; Bib. Ind. chap. 17, page 41; Mārkaṇḍeya, Bib. Ind. chap. 45, page 258.

understood. In the Bhagavadgītā [1] allusions are now and then made to the philosophy of this school, and several charpters are devoted to it in the Śānti-parva [2] of the Mahābhārata. So that, it appears that the system along with or supplemented by the Vedānta, with which however it is often confounded, has worked itself into the ordinary belief of the Hindus. But in spite of this, the Sāṁkhya philosophy has long been driven away from the curriculum of Sanskrit students on this side of India, and I have not heard of any Śāstri in the Maratha or Gujrath country having devoted himself to it, and nearly all know but little about it. But in the North and in the Gauḍa country a better treatment is accorded to it. It is more generally studied, and a chair for it exists in the Benares Sanskrit College.

But from the mere fact that the doctrines of the Sāṁkhyas are to be met with in very ancient works, it does not necessarily follow that these speculations were systematized at the time when those works were written. No fact is plainer in the history of Sanskrit literature than this—that the body of notions embodied under each Śāstra, was not conceived at once by the chief writer on the subject, but that before they were put into that shape, they had gone through a process of growth and development. But the Sāṁkhya philosophy seems to have been very early reduced to a system. The name Sāṁkhya, about the etymology[3] of which there is much dispute, could not have been invented before the floating mass of the Sāṁkhya doctrines obtained fixity and stability. And this name

1. Chap. III, 3; 27; 42,

2. Chap. 308, 9; 312, 17.

3. Mahābhārata—सांख्यदर्शनमेतत्ते परिसंख्यातमुत्तमम् । एवं हि परिसंख्याय सांख्याः केवलतां गताः ॥ तत्त्वानि च चतुर्विंशत् परिसंख्याय etc. Matsya—सांख्यं संख्यात्मकत्वाच्च कापिलादिभिरुच्यते ॥ In tbese सांख्यम् is derived from संख्या 'number', and the Sāstra is so called on account of its enumeration of the 25 principles. This etymology appears to be correct. The scholiasts explain the term by सम्यक् ख्यानं ज्ञानम् true knowledge. See Śaṁkara and Śrīdhara on Gītā II, 39; III, 3.

occurs in one at least [1] of the earlier Upaniṣads, and in the Bhagavadgītā[2] and other parts of the Mahābhārata. The person, to whom an almost unanimous tradition ascribes the authorship of the system, is Kapila. In the Bhāgavata, he is represented as an avatāra of Viṣṇu ; [3] and his name occurs in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, [4] where the creator of the Universe is spoken of ' as having nourished Kapila the Ṛṣi with knowledge and seen him born.'' Śaṁkarācārya, whose great object is to show that the philosophy of the Sāṁkhyas has no basis in the hallowed Śruti, considers the Kapila here alluded to, to be that Ṛṣi who burnt the sons of Sagara to ashes by a curse and not the author of the system he is combating.[5] But the Bhāgavata represents the enemy of Sagara's sons to be the founder of the school of the Sāṁkhyas,[6] and there can be little occasion for the mention of such a person as the former, if he is to be considered as a different individual from the latter, in such a work as the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, devoted as it is, to the investigation of the soul of the Universe.

But which of the existing works on the system is to be ascribed to Kapila, or whether any work written by him has come down to us at all, is a question which it is not very easy to answer. A collection of Sūtras entitled Sāṁkhya Pravacana is ascribed to him; but the very name of this work is unknown on this side of India. Mādhava in his Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha does not mention it, though in setting forth the doctrines of each school, he in most cases first gives the title of the work of the founder, and in several cases, an analysis of its contents. The only Sāṁkhya Pravacana known to him is the leading treatise of the Yoga School, of which he gives a short abstract ; while his observa-

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1. Śvetāśvatara Up., Bib. Ind. page 366.
2. III. 3.
3. I. 3.; II. 7.
4. Bib. Ind. p. 351-2.
5. अन्यस्य च कपिलस्य सगरपुत्राणां प्रतप्तुर्वासुदेवनाम्नः स्मरणात् ।
Vedānta Bhāṣya, Chap. II, pada I sūtra I.
6. IX. 8.

tions on the Sāṁkhya philosophy are based on Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Kārikās. The Sāṁkhya Pravacana, too, attributed to Kapila bears altogether a modern air about it. Next in importance to the leading treatise on a particular Śāstra is the bhāṣya on it. Such bhāṣyas in the case of the other Śāstras were written by persons, who, in consequence of their work, enjoy great reputation, and are to be referred to a pretty high antiquity. All subsequent writers never style their elucidatory works bhāṣyas, but give them the name of vṛtti [1] or vārtika. Such for instance is the case with the Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta, Nyāya, and Vyākaraṇa bhāṣyas, the authors of which, Śabara, Śaṁkara, Vātsyāyana, and Patañjali are widely known and justly held in reverence, and flourished, all of them before the tenth century of the Christan Era. While the only bhāṣya on the Sāṁkhya Pravacana, is that by Vijñāna Bhikṣu, who, Dr. Hall thinks, flourished in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and not earlier than Mādhava, since he does not appear to have known him. It is hard to believe, on the supposition of the high antiquity of the Sāṁkhya Pravacana, that it could have remained without a bhāṣya for so many centuries, considering the importance of the Śāstra itself. For these and other reasons, I think that the Sāṁkhya Pravacana is not a work of high antiquity, and could not have been written by Kapila. But there are several works of authority on the subject, and among these, that of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, the Kārikās, enjoys great reputation. Dr. Hall greatly praises Vijñāna Bhikṣu; but to me he appears to be a very unsafe guide since his great object seems to be to bring the Vedānta and the Sāṁkhya as close as possible.

It is time now that I should enter into the philosophy of Kapila. The world is full of misery. Man's sufferings in it are of three kinds; [1] those originating with his body and his mind (Ādhyātmika). He is liable to disease, such as fever, dysentery or cholera, and to mental anguish caused by such an occurrence as the death of a

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1 The Vṛtti on the Vedānta Sūtra alluded to by Śaṁkara, of course, existed before Śaṁkara.

child, wife or friend. 2 Then again the creatures around him are often the source of great trouble to him. Mosquitoes, bugs, snakes, crocodiles, sharks, vultures, tigers, wolves, and even his fellow men render his existence intolerable to him (Ādhibhautika). 3 And even the gods will not let him alone. They will send down lightning on his head, or blow away his house by a hurricane (Ādhidaivika). Nothing that we see, will free us from these evils. Even after death we have another existence in which our fate pursues us, and we are again subjected to these very ills. The Śruti tells us to perform sacrifices or practise some other virtues, and for these deeds, promises us a place in Heaven where we shall be happy. But even here, the happiness allowed us, is just in proportion to our deserts, and after a time, must come to an end. It is not pure, complete, absolute. How then to secure this absolute bliss or this absolute cessation from pain ? This is the problem Kapila has undertaken to solve. " Reflect," says he, " what your miseries arise from. If they arise from the nature of your soul, there is no help for you. But they do not arise from the nature of your soul ; their cause is totally different ; separate yourself from that cause, and you will be happy."

Then the nature of the soul and of the world, which is the source of affliction, are set forth in the shape of twenty-five tattvas or principles, a knowledge of which is necessary for the attainment of eternal beatitude. The first is prakṛti or pradhāna, the original principle or cause of all, which consists in the equipoise of the three qualities viz., sattva, light, brightness or goodness ; rajas, passion or feeling, and tamas darkness, pain, ignorance. The first is the source of happiness and its function is to render anything manifest and clear ; from the second, action originates, and from the third, pain, stolidity or stupour.

From this pradhāna, is produced by a process of development, the principle of mahat or buddhi which is translated intelligence, but which I consider to be equivalent to finite or conditioned intelligence. This buddhi assumes four forms when the quality of goodness prevails in it over the other two ; viz., dharma or virtue, jñāna or knowledge, vairāgya or freedom from earthly

affection, and aiśvarya or magical power, such as is ascribed to a yogin. When the quality of darkness prevails, this same buddhi appears in the form of adharma or vice, ajñāna or ignorance, avairāgya or earthly affection, and anaiśvarya or absence of extraordinary power.

This *mahat-tattva* or buddhi gives birth to *ahaṁkāra*, consciousness of individuality or egoism; which in its turn, where sattva or light is predominant, produces the five senses and the five organs of action. The five senses are seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and feeling; and the five organs of action are the speech, hand, foot, and the organs of excretion and regeneration. Manas which sets in motion both these groups, is an organ of sense as well as action. It is to be translated by the words will and attention. When in the principle of consciousness, the quality of tamas or darkness prevails, it produces the five subtle elements, the rudiments of the objects of the five senses.

And from these subtle elements are produced in a developed or grosser form, ākāśa or sky, tejas or light, pṛthivī or earth, vāyu or wind, and āpas or water, which are the object of the senses of hearing, seeing, smelling, touch and taste, respectively.

We thus get twenty-four principles, and the last is puruṣa or soul which is pure, eternal, and absolute. Puruṣa is incapable of action, but has light and life, while pradhāna or prakṛti whose products we have noticed, is acetana, *i.e.*, has no life or light, but possesses the power of action. Puruṣa is like a paṅgu or man without legs who has got eyes, and prakṛti has got legs but no eyes (andha). Hence left to themselves, the andha and paṅgu would not be able to move, but if they agree that the paṅgu with no legs should sit on the shoulders of the andha, then they both can go over any distance they choose. In the same manner, if puruṣa and prakṛti were disjoined, the world would not exist, and it is their union that sets prakṛti in motion, and all things up to the five gross elements are produced. It is in consequence of this union that puruṣa appears to be active, though not so in reality, and prakṛti has the appearance of something living or cetana.

In every sensation or present act of sense, buddhi or intelligence ahaṁkāra or consciousness, manas or will and attention, together with the particular organ of sense, are concerned, while in a past or future act of sense, *i.e.*, in recalling a past or conceiving a possible sensation, the first three only are employed. These three, therefore, are internal faculties of cognition, and the organs of sense and action are called external faculties. These thirteen faculties together with the five subtle elements form what is called the sūkṣma śarīra or subtle body. At death, the gross elements of the human body only are destroyed, while this subtle body assumes several gross bodies and appears in the world again. If this subtle body is instinct with virtue, it goes up, if with vice, it goes below; if with jñāna or real knowledge *i.e.*, (of course) of the twenty-five principles, it is cast off, and the soul attains Mokṣa or its original absoluteness.

This, in brief, is the system of the Sāṁkhyas. To one who really attempts to understand it and to reduce it to a modern shape, not a few difficulties present themselves. What is the nature of this prakṛti or pradhāna which, united with the puruṣa, is said to be the origin of all things, and in what sense can it be said to produce intelligence, and through it, ahaṁkāra or consciousness, and through this again, the subtle elements and thence the world ? The books themselves on the Śāstra, do not explain this satisfactorily, and Vijñāna Bhikṣu says that the order of production of these principles rests on the authority of the Śāstra alone, and is a thing that cannot be proved.[1] But a Śāstra which requires things to be taken on trust, is no Śāstra. The Purāṇas too afford us no

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1. अत्र प्रकृतेर्महान्महतोऽहंकार इत्यादिसृष्टिक्रमे शास्त्रमेव प्रमाणम् । अनुमानेन सामान्यतः कार्याणां सकारणकत्वमात्रसिद्धेः । न तु सृष्टौ भूतादिक्रमो वान्तःकरणादिक्रमो वेत्येकतरावधारकमनुमानं संभवति । Sāṁkhya Sāra. "The only evidence for the production of Mahat from Prakṛti and of Ahaṁkāra from Mahat is the Śāstra itself ; from inference, one can arrive only at the general conclusion that an effect has a cause ; but as to production, there can be no inference calculated to show whether the gross elements are first produced and thence the internal organs, or these latter first and from them, the elements."

help. The Mātsya[1] tells us that from mahat-tattva is produced the Puranic Trinity. With an excess of sattva, mahat is Viṣṇu, of rajas it is Brahmā, and of tamas, it is Rudra. And as a general rule, the Sāṁkhya principles are represented by them as having been first produced or set in motion by the creator, at the time of the creation, and are personified and put into the ranks of gods.[2] Colebrooke thinks prakṛti to be "eternal matter, indiscrete, undistinguishable, as destitute of parts." If so, it is like the eternal paramāṇus or atoms of the Vaiśeṣikas, and in this case, the Sāṁkhyas, ought to be consistent and represent, like the Vaiśeṣikas, the production of such things as dvyaṇuka, trasareṇu (small pieces of matter), and ghaṭa (pot) from it and not that of buddhi, jñāna, dharma, dayā, ahaṁkāra and such other purely mental states. We must also bear in mind, that the union of this prakṛti with the soul is considered necessary for the production of the result though the soul is regarded as incapable of action. What is the necessity of this union, if prakṛti were matter in the ordinary sense? Professor Wilson also considers prakṛti as the material cause of things.

To me, however, the system of Kapila appears to disclose an idealistic view of nature. The position of Idealism is this. I know directly what passes in my consciousness. I am conscious of certain sensations of which I believe myself not to be the cause. To account for them, I suppose the existence of an external nature. But this is simply an inference necessitated by the constitution of my mind, *i.e.*, the external world for me exists in consequence of a law of my intellect. Beyond my consciousness and my intellect, there is no warranty for the existence of the external world. Whence arises the necessity of the supposition of its existence? In consciousness, there

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1. सविकारात्प्रधानात्तु महत्तत्त्वं प्रजायते। महानिति यतः ख्यातिर्लोकानां जायते सदा ॥ गुणेभ्यः क्षोभ्यमाणेभ्यस्त्रयो देवा विजज्ञिरे। एकमूर्तिस्त्रयो भागा ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः ॥

2. Bhāgavata, Sk. III. Chap. V. and Mahābhārata, Śāntip., passim.

are feelings and representations *i.e.*, I feel myself tied down to a particular state, my freedom is restrained, my free activity is limit ed. Who has limited me? Certainly not the external world, for it is my own creation. It is to account for that limitation of my free activity that I posit it. The limitation is prior, the supposition of the external world is subsequent. I feel my activity impaired, and so much, as I feel is taken away from me, I attribute to something else. I simply objectivise my subjective feeling. We must then look for this limitation of the *me* in the state of the intellect, previous to consciousness; for when the *me* awoke, it awoke with its limitations, with the *not me*. These limitations, therefore, point to the nature of the intellect, just as the little red, green, and blue clouds visible to the eye when it is dazzled, indicate the structure of the organ itself, and do not exist in themselves.

This is the Idealism of Fichte, the German philosopher. Let us compare Kapila's system with it. We must here distinguish between four things. In the state of consciousness when the *me* feels itself limited, the intellect first of all posits or affirms the *me*, and then opposes to itself the *not me*. The *not me* is apprehended as limiting the *me*, putting it into a definite state. The limitation of the *me* implies its previous freedom or unlimiteness. Had it not been absolutely free or unlimited, it would not have felt itself limited. If finiteness were its nature these limitations would not awaken it, *i.e.*, consciousness would be impossible. The four things then are: —the *ego* *i.e.*, the finite *ego*, the *non-ego*, the limitation or limiting, and the free, unlimited or absolute ego, *i.e.*, the *ego* previous to consciousness. Now, Kapila's ahaṁkāra corresponds to the finite *ego*, and the five subtle and gross elements, together with their counterparts, the senses, which without this *ego* would not exist in consciousness, and which consequently, in the language of our philosopher, are produced by the *ego*, correspond to the *non-ego*. The free, unlimited, absolute *ego* is puruṣa, and its limitation by the *non-ego* is the bandha or saṅga which ties us down to this world. But Fichte has told us that the limitation of the *ego* is the result of something that had passed in the intellect previous to consciousness, previous to the positing of the *ego*. This according to Kapila,

is the principle of buddhi or mahat, which produces ahaṁkāra or the *ego*.

But here there is a difference between the two philosophers, a difference due to the object with which each started in this inquiry. Kapila had in view the liberation of the soul from its fetters. Fichte wanted to explain the world. That limitation of the free *ego*, then, which Fichte derives from the nature of that *ego* is ascribed by Kapila to a cause which is distinct from it. It is pradhāna, a combination of the three qualities and its product, the principle of mahat. But this is not an external object in the ordinary sense, for, buddhi and ahaṁkāra which are its immediate products and the manas are, as we observed before, called by the Sāṁkhyas, ābhyantara karaṇas (internal organs), and virtue, compassion, the faculties of acquiring knowledge &c, which are comprehended under buddhi are, of course, not external things — these latter, as we have seen, are produced only after ahaṁkāra has been affirmed. Again, this remarkable peculiarity shows the logical consistency of Kapila. To state that the *me* believes itself to have been absolutely free and unlimited, and at the same time to deduce its limitations from its essence, involves a contradiction. It is tantamount to saying that the absolutely free and unlimited is not free and unlimited. This is one of the charges brought against Fitche by his critics, from which Kapila escapes by affirming that since the absolute and the infinite cannot be conditioned and finite, the limitations are due to a distinct cause, which in its nature is finite and whose finiteness, from its intimate connection with the infinite *ego*, the *ego* attributes to itself from ignorance. On this account, the system of Kapila is not a perfectly subjective Idealism as Fichte's is.

Now, since all our cognitions and feelings are either good or bad, quiescent or active, true or false, right or wrong, the finite cause of all these must be composed of the three qualities, sattva, rajas, and tamas. The finite *ego* is either a cognizing or a moral subject ; it is, therefore prepared for these functions. by buddhi which instills those principles into it. If it did not possess those principles or instincts, it would not be fit for an intellectual

or moral life, and perception or action would not follow *i.e.*, the finite *ego* would not be born at all. Hence it is, that it is said to be produced by buddhi. Born with the intellectual and moral instincts, it realizes them and creates objects suited to them, and so the external world and the organs of sense and action come into existence. We thus see that the system of the Sāṁkhyas distinguishes between the finite and the infinite soul, the limited and the free. The unlimited or infinite soul is not capable of our present life, the finite is; but this finiteness is, according to the system, not its own attribute, but of another principle, which in reality it is, that, in conjunction with the infinite soul, leads this moral and intellectual life which we call ours. If we separate ourselves from this principle, our bonds are broken, and we are again free and absolute. This is Mokṣa.[1]

This idea of the absolute or limitless soul and this kind of idealism more or less modified, runs through all the religio-philosophical literature of the country.[2] Indeed, if this were an isolated instance, grave doubts might reasonably be entertained about the explanation, I have attempted, of the Sāṁkhya system. There are striking resemblances between the metaphysics of Kapila and of the Buddhistic Schools. The Vedānta, also, bears some affinity

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1. As this is the central idea of many of the most important Hindu systems, and as it is often, by modern writers on Indian Philosophy, confounded with non-existence or nihil, I quote the following lines from Wordsworth, which would give an idea of what is considered to be the state of the soul after it is freed from the trammels of the world. What is meant is a condition in which "thought is not," in which the soul is free from any definite representation.

His spirit drank
The spectacle: sensation, soul and form,
All melted into him; they swallowed up
His animal being; in them did he live,
And by them did he live; they were his life.
In such access of mind, in such high hour
Of visitation from the living God
Thought was not; in enjoyment it expired.

This resembles closely the description of the freed soul given by the Vedāntins, in particular.

2. Bhagavadgītā, III. 27 and Śāntiparvan, fol 210, Bom. edn.

to it. The Māyā of that system is often regarded as equivalent to pradhāna or prakṛti, and the two expressions are frequently, in unsystematic works, confounded.

The doctrines of the Yogācāra school of the Buddhists are, that the only existing thing is the ego, and the external and finite world is a phantom. As, to one whose eyes are affected with the disease called timira, two moons appear instead of one, so does the world appear to exist to the ego affected with the disease called vāsanā (habit). This vāsanā assumes various forms, and this it is, that leads the ego to picture to itself the external world, and is the cause of all our feelings and passions.[1] The great object of a human being, therefore, ought to be, by practising the virtues and duties imposed by Buddha on his followers, to free the soul from this vāsanā, the root of all evil.[2] This, then, resembles the idealism of Kapila. The external world is reduced to states of consciousness, and along with our finite thoughts and feelings, is derived from a certain power called vāsanā which is not of the essence of the *me*, and though it resides in it, is separable from it.

Then by a transition not unusual in the history of Philosophy, the Mādhyamikas, another sect, deny the existence of both the internal and the external world, and end in nihilism. With them, vāsanā is the cause of both, and when, by the discipline enjoined by their master, this is rooted out, nothing remains and this is their nirvaṇa.[3] Then, again, another school, that of the Sautrāntikas, starting from a subjective basis, similarly with these two, admits the existence of external objects, but only as the result of an inference that cannot be avoided. They say that if the vāsanā producing such a representation, as that of a blue object for instance, exists in the soul, it must always produce that representation, that is, we must always see a blue object. But we see it

1. Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha; Bib. Ind. pages, 16—17; Śaṁkarācārya's Bhāṣya, II.2.28.
2. Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha, p. 17.
3. Ibid. p. 15.

only occasionally ; therefore, the cause of that representation must exist out of the ego.[1] But the forms of external objects are supplied to them by the intellect ; they are the creations of our mind.[2] This external world, and the internal one of finite thoughts and feelings, are capable of destruction or separation from the soul, (nirodha), and the way to this, is the discipline spoken of before (Mārga). When they are thus destroyed, pure intelligence alone remains and the soul attains Mokṣa.[3] We thus see how closely these schools are connected. The philosophy of the Sautrāntikas may be compared to that of Kant, that of the Yogācāras to Fichte's, while that of the Mādhyamikas is nihilism. But all the schools start from a subjective basis and are idealistic, in which respect they resemble the Sāṁkhya system.

Professor Max Müller remarks in the Chips that all authors who write on Buddhism always go on the supposition that the metaphysics of Buddhism were derived from Kapila, but he does not see any grounds for this belief. Such ideas as the transmigration of souls, are common to all Hindu philosophers, wherefore their occurrence in the Sāṁkhya and Buddhistic systems would not afford an indication of the one having borrowed them from the other. This is quite true, but the special coincidences which he denies, I humbly think, do exist. Deriving the external world from states of consciousness ; referring these along with the feelings and passions to a finite cause ; and distinguishing this cause from the infinite soul-these are the essential doctrines of both the systems. The only difference is that the finite cause of the Sāṁkhyas is indestructible, while that of the Buddhists is not. But this difference is more apparent than real. The pradhāna of the Sāṁkhyas is capable of separation from the soul, and the word nirodha, used by the Sautrāntikas to denote the disappearance of their finite cause, means

1. Ibid. p. 19

2. Jagaddhara, in his commentary on Mālatī-Mādhava, incidentally gives the Sautrāntika doctrine thus :—लिखिते वेति सौत्रान्तिकमतोपदर्शनम् । तत्र हि ज्ञानेन स्वीयाकारार्पणं विषये क्रियत इति तत्तदाकारस्याभिव्यक्तिः ।

3. Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha, p. 22.

much the same thing. However, even if we recognise a real difference on this point, it may well be considered as due to a further development of one and the same system.

Again, the denial of God, as the controller of the universe, which is common to both the systems, is not a mere accidental or general coincidence. It is a necessary consequence of the systems and indicates their essential identity. The problem which both undertake to solve is, freeing the soul from misery. Misery arises from the external world and from our feelings. The external world is subjectivised, and referred along with the feelings to a finite cause, the destruction of which sets the soul, infinite and absolute in its nature, at liberty. The problem is solved. And in this way of solving it, there is no room for a controller of the universe. The systems, however, do not deny the existence of gods or superhuman beings. They exist but their constitution is similar to that of man. There are prakṛti and puruṣa, even there, but some of the effects of prakṛti do not exist in their case. They have only subtle bodies or only the internal organs, and not the gross substances with which we find ourselves united.

There is another striking resemblance. Some Buddhistic schools give the order in which the world is produced, thus: —First of all there is ignorance from which arise feelings such as those of love and hatred. Then follows consciousness which gives birth to names and forms (the external world), and in this manner, the senses, the contact of the senses with the world, pleasure or pain, desire, virtue and vice, old age, death, lementation, sorrow and distress, are successively produced, one from the other.[1] This order closely resembles that of the Sāṁkhyas. Ignorance corresponds to pradhāna, love and hatred to buddhi, consciousness to ahaṁkāra, and

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1. अविद्यादीनामितरेतरकारणत्वादुपपद्यते लोकयात्रा। ते चाविद्यादयोऽविद्या संस्कारो विज्ञानं नामरूपं षडायतनं स्पर्शो वेदना तृष्णोपादानं भवो जातिर्जरा मरणं शोकः परिवेदना दुःखं दुर्मनस्तेत्येवंजातीयका इतरेतरहेतुकाः।

Śaṁkarācārya's Vedānta Bhāṣya,, Bib. Ind. p. 549, Vol. I. See also Govindānanda on the same.

so on. The principle of both is the same, though there may be differences in the particulars. For these reasons, there is, I think, sufficient ground to believe, that though the Buddhistic systems may not have sprung directly from the Sāṁkhya, they derived their origin from the same current of thought, and are to be referred to the same, or immediately successive ages. And having arrived thus far, the balance of probability is, in my opinion, in favour of the supposition that the Sāṁkhyas preceded the Buddhists.

Again, Professor Max Müller thinks the Buddhistic nirvāṇa to be total annihilation, and refers to the sacred book Abhidharma, said to have been written by Kāśyapa, the friend and pupil of Buddha. I have had no access to this book, but with due deference, I must say, that if Mādhava has given the doctrines of the several sects rightly, the nirvāṇa of the Mādhyamikas only is annihilation, while the summum bonum of the other schools is the separation of the free and unlimited soul from the finite force we observe in it, as the reader may have seen.[1]

The coincidences between the Sāṁkhya and the Budhistic systems will derive greater significance if we compare and contrast the Vedānta with them. The absolute soul is the central idea of the Vedānta as well as of the Sāṁkhya. But the problem with the Vedāntins was not simply to teach the way to eternal bliss, but also to restore the Indian race to the Śruti, which the Sāṁkhyas had affected to reverence, and the Buddhists openly defied, and to God. Revelation is, therefore, the basis of the system. The second sūtra of Bādarāyaṇa, the first being simply introductory, brings in at once, the idea of God as the Creator of the world. According to the Vedānta, then, there is first, God and the individual soul. God is the sum total of the individual souls. He first creates the five elements, and from these five, the senses, and thence the two internal

1 Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha : Mādhyamikas : परिनिर्वाणं शून्यरूपं सेत्स्यति। Yogācāras : निखिलवासनोच्छेदविगलितविविधविषयाकारोपप्लवविशुद्धविज्ञानोदयो महोदयः । Sautrāntikas : तदुभयनिरोधः । तदनन्तरं विमलज्ञानोदयो वा मुक्तिः । See also ibid, p. 116.

faculties (manas and buddhi). From the elements are also produced the organs of action, and the five winds in the body. The last seventeen constitute the subtle body, which follows us after death ; and the gross one is created by a certain elaborate process of mixture, called pañcīkaraṇa. The sum total of the subtle bodies with the soul in it, is another body of God called Hiraṇyagarbha ; and all the gross bodies with the souls, constitute a third, distinguished by the name of Vaiśvānara.[1] Here, then, is an attempt to seek the Absolute objectively, which the Sāṁkhyas arrive at, subjectively. But equally with these, the Vedāntins hold the subject also to be Absolute. To establish identity between these two, and secure mokṣa, finite thinking and the finite manifestations of the real or external absolute, must be dissolved, buddhi and matter —the creations of God, must be destroyed. If by creation is to be understood a development of the Divine essence, this object cannot be gained. For the development must be as real as the essence itself. Śaṁkarācārya, therefore, rejects this theory,[2] and attributes creation to a certain power in the Divine essence, which cannot be considered as existing, because its effects would no less exist, nor as non-existing, for the effects are perceptible.[3] It is Māyā or illusion which generates appearances, such as those of a mirage. And the individual soul which in its essence is the same as the Universal soul, is absolute, is enclosed by a similar veil of illusion, and confounds himself with the creations of God's māyā and attributes their finiteness to himself. That the gross and subtle bodies are such creations, is shown by the conditions in which we find ourselves in sleep. In dreamy sleep, the gross body of flesh and blood does not exist for the individual soul, while the subtle

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1. Vedānta Sāra ; Pañcadaśī of Bhāratītīrtha, Viveka I.

2. Śaṁkarācārya's Vedānta Bhaṣya II.I.14, Bib. Ind, p. 447 and 453, vol. I. This theory called pariṇāmavāda was afterwards taken up fully and strictly by Vallabha and qualified by Rāmānuja, in the hands of both of whom, it became the basis of a religious system more practical than S'aṁkara's.

3. सत्वासत्वाभ्यामनिर्वचनीयम् । Vedānta-Sāra ; न शून्यं नापि सद्वादृक्त्वादृक्त्वमिहेष्यताम् । Bhāratītīrtha, Pañca-Viveka II

does, and this latter also ceases to be, in sound sleep. But even in sound sleep, the soul is still enveloped in avidyā or ignorance which is māyā itself as referring to the individual soul. These avidyā and māyā are got rid of by the concentration of the mind in the manner prescribed by the Yoga philosophers, joined with moral discipline, and as the result of the process, the soul issues forth into its transcendent condition, and is pure intelligence and joy.

CONSIDERATION OF THE DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

IN CONNECTION WITH THE CORRESPONDENCE FROM COL. ELLIS

[FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1872, VOL. X, pp. 81 ff.]

This paper was read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 12th September 1872.

In the Ninth volume of the Asiatic Researches, there is a notice by Colebrooke of an inscription on copper-plates purporting to be a grant of land by Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit, of the race of the Pāṇḍavas. The characters engraved being very modern, and the language very incorrect, Colebrooke came to the conclusion that it was a forgery. But this decision rests on the supposition that the Mahābhārata, which describes the great serpent-sacrifice held by Janamejaya, alluded to also in the grant, is a very ancient work. The antiquity of this work, however, may be denied, in which case there is nothing in the grant itself to show that it is spurious. Colonel Ellis, therefore, in the correspondence placed before us, considers the grant as genuine, and refers the composition of the Mahābhārata to a period subsequent to its execution. On the day on which the grant was made, there was a partial eclipse of the sun, which, from calculations made by the Rev. G.B. Gibbons and Prof. Airy, took place at about 11 A.M. on Sunday, the 9th of April 1521. The date of the grant being thus determined beyond any possibility of doubt, Colonel Ellis wishes us to prosecute further inquiries, with a view to find out whether any traces of the events and circumstances mentioned in the grant, or connected with the story of Janamejaya, exist at the present day. For instance, we are asked to ascertain whether the ruins of the palace in which Sarvadamana or Bharata, the

son of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā, was crowned, and of the court in which Janamejaya held the Aśvamedha 'Jagg,' or Horse-sacrifice, are still visible at Anagundi, with which the Colonel identifies Hastināpura, or whether any burnt remains of the sacrifice are found by digging for them on the spot. But the supposition on which the Colonel goes leads him into a difficulty. Kṛṣṇa Rāya, one of the ablest kings, of the local dynasty, and not Janamejaya of the Pāṇḍava race was on the throne of Vijayanagara, or Anagundi, about 1521. Since, then, both could not have been kings at the same time, Colonel Ellis suspects that Kṛṣṇa Rāya's minister, Appāji, was the Janamejaya of the grant, *i. e.* it is considered not at all unlikely that a king who is represented in the plates as the king of kings and the refuge of the whole universe, and whom Col. Ellis himself speaks of as a renowned conqueror, should have been but an insignificant minister of the king of a minor state. Again, if the grant is genuine, and the Mahābhārata was written after 1521 A.D., we should certainly expect to find in it a picture of the state of society in the sixteenth century, when the Mahomedans had been ruling over a large portion of the country for about four hundred years, and when the few remaining Hindu states were struggling for existence, and not such an archaic condition as that which the poem unfolds to our view. The current tradition which ascribes a high antiquity to the Mahābhārata, ought also to be explained and not lost sight of. How is it that it has come to be an almost intuitive belief wth every intelligent Hindu that the epic is very old, while at the same time, he considers works written long before 1521 A.D., to be but very recent? At the same time it is very difficult to conceive how an epic only three hundred and fifty years old, could have worked itself into the thoughts and feelings of all the Hindu nationalities, from the Himālaya to Cape Comorin, so thoroughly as the Mahābhārata has done. Reasons such as these ought, I think, to be sufficient to enable one to pronounce the grant to be spurious. But Col. Ellis does not seem to consider them to be weighty, and in the view he has put forth, he but represents, in a somewhat exaggerated form, the tendency of most European scholars and antiqua-

rians to modernize everything Hindu. I will, however, not content myself with this general reasoning, but will give more specific proofs of the antiquity of the Mahābhārata.

If Col. Ellis's view is correct, the greater part of our existing Classical Literature must be supposed to have been written after 1521 A. D.; for there are but few works which, directly or indirectly, do not allude to the Mahābhārata or the principal characters in the poem. But such a conclusion is inadmissible, for there are some dates in the history of India and the history of Sanskrit literature which cannot be called in question. I will therefore set forth the principal testimonies to the existence of the Mahābhārata, in chronological order.

The earliest literary date is that of Patañjali, the author of the Mahābhāṣya, or the great commentary on Pāṇini's grammar. Prof. Goldstücker places him in the second century before Christ, and I have recently succeeded in making out that he lived in the reign of Puṣpamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, who reigned from B. C. 178 to B. C. 142. Pāṇini must have preceded him, and the interval between them was probably about three centuries, or even much greater. The Śrauta and Gṛhya Sūtras of the three Vedas preceded the work of Pāṇini, or, according to some scholars, some of them were written at about the same time. The Brāhmaṇas or these Vedas must have preceded the Sūtras. Now Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit, and Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta, are mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, as very powerful kings who conquered the whole earth. I do not mean to assert that the Mahābhārata existed before the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, but I bring forward this instance to show how very far into antiquity some of the elements of the story of the Mahābhārata run. In Āśvalāyana Gṛhya, there is a Sūtra containing the names of the gods and Ṛṣis to whom water is to be given, i.e., technically, whose tarpaṇa is to be made every day by

1. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 21 and 23.

a Ṛgvedī Brāhmaṇa. In this list the name of the Mahābhārata[1] occurs. But it may perhaps be questioned whether the reference here is to the Mahābhārata as we have it, or to some other work that existed in the time of Āśvalāyana. For the Ṛṣi mention[2] several classes of literary works, such as Gāthās, ·Nārāśaṁsīs &c., which are not now known. This objection amounts to this. A Mahābhārata may have existed before Aśvalāyana, but there is nothing to show that it contained the story of the Kurus. But I do not see why this question should be raised, since a few centuries later we are told by another author that the story of these heroes was popular and current in his time and when, only a short time after, or about the same time, as Āśvalāyana, a third mentions the names of the Mahābhārata and some of the principal characters. Pāṇiṇi (VI. 2. 38) teaches us the accent of Mahā in the word Mahābhārata. Another Sūtra[3] of his teaches that the termination Aka should be applied to the nouns Vāsudeva and Arjuna to form derivatives from them signifying one who is devoted to Vāsudeva and Arjuna. In the Mahābhārata these two persons are represented as great friends, and their being mentioned together by Pānini is very significant. Even Patañjali, commenting on the Sūtra, sees no reason why Vāsudeva should have been put in here, since there is another and a more general rule under which the noun would come. .He explains that the Vāsudeva here meant was the god Vāsudeva, and not the one that comes under the general rule[4]. This is a subtlety which, however, shows that the characters in the Mahābhārata had come to be regarded as demi-gods. But it is

1. Āśvalāyana Gṛhya III. 4. 4—भाष्यभारतमहाभारतधर्माचार्याः...।

2. Āśvlāyana Gṛhya III. 3.1.

3 Pāṇini IV. 3.98.

4. वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् । किमर्थं वासुदेवशब्दाद्वुन्विधीयते । न गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं वुञित्येव सिद्धम् । न ह्यस्ति विशेषो वासुदेवशब्दाद्वुञो वा । तदेव रूपं स एव स्वरः ।...अथवा नैषा क्षत्रियाख्या । संज्ञैषा तत्रभगवतः ।

not unlikely that Pāṇini was let to put them together because they were always associated together in the minds of the people, as they are in the Mahābhārata. In a third Sūtra we have Yudhiṣṭhira[1]. The words I have brought forward are not taken from the Gaṇas or groups which form an appendix of Pāṇini's work nor are they the examples of his rules given by the grammarians, for there is no evidence to determine what portion of these is to be attributed to Pāṇini. But they occur in the Sūtras themselves Pāṇini's authorship of which is unquestionable.

In Patañjali's work we find in one place the names of Bhīmasena, Sahadeva and Nakula, who are mentioned as descendants of Kuru,[2] and of Duryodhana and Duḥśāsana.[3] The compound Yudhiṣthirārjunau occurs in several places.[4] In one of these, Patañjali, in explaining a Vārtika of Kātyāyana, tells us that the word Dvi becomes Dvandvam as applied to a copulative compound of the names of persons or things always mentioned together and well known to all. In the case of the compound Yudhiṣthirārjunau, though the persons are well known, says he, they are not always or invariably mentioned together; hence Dvi does not become dvandvam, i. e. we have to say Dvau Yudhiṣthirārjunau, and not dvandvaṁ Yudhiṣṭhirārjanau.[5] From this I infer that the story of Yudhiṣthira and Arjuna was current and popular in Patañjali's time.

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1. VIII. 3. 95.

2. Patañjali, IV 1. 4 Ahn. कुर्वणोवकाशः । नाकुलः साहदेवः । ण्यस्य स एव । भीमसेनो नाम कुरुस्तस्मादुभयं प्राप्नोति । ण्यो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । भैमसेन्यः ।

3. III. 3. 1 ann.

4. Under II. 2.34 भ्रातुश्च ज्यायसः पूर्वनिपातो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ । In this, Yudhiṣṭhira is spoken of as Arjuna's elder brother.

5. Under Pāṇini, VIII. 1.15.—अत्यन्तसहचरिते लोकविज्ञाते द्वन्द्वमित्युपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । द्वन्द्वं स्कन्दविशाखौ द्वन्द्वं नारदपर्वतौ । अत्यन्तसहचरित इति किमर्थम् । द्वौ युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ । लोकविज्ञात इति किमर्थम् । द्वौ देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ ॥ Kaiyaṭa on this last:—द्वौ युधिष्ठिरार्जुनाविति । लोकविज्ञानाद्भिन्नकावेतौ न त्वत्यन्तं सहचारितौ

In another place, Patañjali, in his comments on Pāṇini III. 2. 122, gives, as an example of a counter-rule, III. 2. 118, Dharmeṇa sma Kuravo yudhyante, i. e., the Kurus fought with fairness. Now the war between the sons of Pāṇḍu and Dhṛtarāṣṭra, both of whom belonged to the Kuru race, is known as a Dharma-yuddha, i. e., a war in which it was not allowable for the hostile parties to carry their enmity beyond the field of battle, and in which, even in battle, no unfair advantage could be taken by either side. Besides, this is an instance in which the present Yudhyante, we are told, has the sense of the perfect, i. e., the action of fighting took place at a remote time and was not witnessed by the speaker. This shows that, when Patañjali wrote, the war was considered as having taken place at a remote time. From these quotations it follows that there was in Patañjali's time a work describing the war of the Kurus, that it was popularly read, that it contained a story concerning the five Pāṇḍavas also, and that it was regarded as ancient. This could be no other than the Mahābhārata. Perhaps the story in the epic was made the subject of new poems in Patañjali's time, for under II. 2 24 he quotes, as if from such a work, 'Asidvitīyonusasāra Pāṇḍavam,' 'he followed the Pāṇḍava, sword in hand.' This forms a regular line in the Vaṁśastha metre. Of course I do not assert that the poem existed in Patañjali's time in exactly the same form as we have it now. There can be no question that several additions have been subsequently made, and it has undergone a good deal of transformation. The very populiarity of our epics has made it almost impossible now to secure a correct or reliable text. But the main story as we now have it, leaving the episodes out of consideration, was current long before Patañjali's time.

My next testimony is from Inscriptions. The Inscriptions in the Nasik caves—at least the earlier ones—appear, from the forms of the characters and the names of kings and other noted persons occurring therein, to date from the first to the third century of the Christian era. In one of these Gotamiputra's

prowess and exploits are compared to those of Keśava, Bhīmasena, Arjuna, and Janamejaya,[1] all of whom are Mahābhārata characters. The Cālukya copper-plate grant translated by Professor Dowson, and one of the Gurjjara ones translated by me last year, contain verses, quoted from the work of Vyāsa, one of which is addressed to Yudhiṣṭhira.[2] This clearly is a reference to the Mahābhārata. The date of the former is 394, and of the latter 417 which correspond to 472 A. D. and 495 A. D. on the supposition that the era referred to is the Śaka. An Inscription[3] in a temple at Iwullee, in the Dharwar and Mysore Districts, bears the date 3730 in the era of the war of the Bhārata. The Śaka date corresponding to it is given as 506, i. e. 584 A. D. It thus appears that in the latter part of the sixth century the war which forms the theme of the Mahābhārata was considered to have taken place about four thousand years before.

The date of Kālidāsa is not yet thoroughly settled, but he must certainly have flourished long before Bāṇa, for he is mentioned by him in the Harṣacarita.[4] Bāṇa, whose patron was Śrī-Harṣa, as he himself tell us, lived in the first halfofthe seventh century, as is determined by a comparison of Hwan Thsang's itinerary with what is known from Sanskrit sources and from the Cālukya copperplates.[5] Kālidāsa is also mentioned in the Iwullee Inscrip-

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1. Jour. Bom. As. Soc , No. XXII., p. 52, Inscr. No. 26, 1. 8 ; and Jour. No. XVIII., p. 41.

2. Jour. R. A. S.. vol. I., New Series, pp. 269, 270 ; and Jour. Bom. A. S., No. XXVIII.

3. Jour. Bom. A. S., No. XXVII., p. cxcviii. Dr. Bhau Daji here reads the Mahābhārata date as three thousand eight hundred and fifty-five years, but 3730 as above at p. 315 of the same No. The mistake seems to have arisen from his having taken अब्देषु for अष्टसु in the former place.

4. Dr. Hall's edn. of Vāsavadattā, p. 14, notes.

5. Ibid. p. 17, notes. Journal Bom. A. S., Vol. III., p. 203. The Cālukya prince who conquered Harṣavardhana, the patron of Bāṇa, was Satyāśraya Śrī Pṛthivī Vallabha, whose great grandson Vijayāditya was on the throne in Śaka 627, i. e. 705 A. D. From the Iwullee Inscription quoted above, it also appears that Satyāśraya was on the throne in 506 Śaka, or 584 A. D. This agrees pretty well with Hwan Thsang's chronology.

tion, noticed above, as a famous poet. Now, the Yakṣa in Kālidāsa's Meghadūta directs his messenger, the cloud, to go by Kurukṣetra, in which the Kṣatriyas fought a battle, "in the course of which he with the Gāṇḍīva bow (i. e. Arjuna) discharged showers of arrows at the faces of the assembled warriors."[1] Bāṇa himself in his Kādambarī makes Vilāsavatī, the queen of Tārāpīḍa, one of the characters in the tale, to go to the temple of Mahākāla in Ujjayinī, where she hears the Mahābhārata read.[2] By the way, this shows that the custom of reading the Mahābhārata or Purāṇas in temples for the edification of the visitors is as old as Bāṇabhaṭṭa. In another place we are told that the inhabitants of Ujjayinī were fond of the Mahābhārata, the Purānas, and the Rāmāyaṇa.[3] Elsewhere the Acchoda lake is compared to the Bhārata.[4] For there were observable there disturbances caused by the Pakṣa of the race of Pāṇḍu Dhṛtarāṣtras. There is a double entendre here ; in the case of the Bhārata the expression means the adherents of the races of Pāṇḍu and of Dhṛtarāṣtra, and in the other the wings of white swans. There is also another equivoque on the name of the Bhārata.[5] Bāṇa also alludes in the same work to the death of Paṇḍu caused by the curse of Kiṁdama Muni, to his wife Pṛthā having remained a widow all her life, to the death of Abhimanyu, and to the widowhood of his wife Uttarā, to Arjuna's having killed Jayadratha, to Arjuna's having been restored to life by Ulupī after he had been killed by his own son Babhruvāhana, as related in the Āśvamedhika Parva, and to Kṛṣṇa's having restored to life Parikṣit, the

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1. ब्रह्मावर्तं जनपदमथच्छायया गाहमानः क्षेत्रं क्षत्रप्रधनपिशुनं कौरवं तद्भजेथाः।
राजन्यानां सितशरशतैर्यत्र गाण्डीवधन्वा धारापातैस्त्वमिव कमलान्यभ्यषिञ्चन्मुखानि ॥

2. Kādambarī, Calc. edn. of 1919 Saṁ. : अद्य तु चतुर्दशीति भगवन्तं महाकालमर्चितुं निर्गतया महाभारते वाच्यमाने श्रुतमपुत्राणां किल गतिर्नास्ति ।

3. Kādambarī Calc, edn. of 1919 Sam., p. 57 : महाभारतपुराणरामायणानुरागिणा बृहत्कथाकुशलेन ।

4 Ibid., p. 138 : भारतमिव पाण्डुधार्तराष्ट्रकुलपक्षकृतक्षोभम् ।

5. Ibid., p. 103 : भारतसमरमिव कृतवर्मशिलीमुखसंभारभीषणम् ।

son of Abhimanyu, still-born in consequence of Aśvathāmā's charmed arrow.[1] There can, therefore, be no question that the Mahābhārata existed in a form complete, so far as the story concerning the principal characters goes, in Bāṇa's time, i. e. in the first half of the seventh century.

In the Harṣacaritra, Bāṇa mentions a work called Vāsavadattā. It is very probable that the Vāsavadattā here meant is a work of that name by Subandhu. But even if it were thought otherwise, Subandhu is mentioned in a Śloka[2] attributed to Rājaśekhara, from whose works again there are quotations[3] in the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa. This last work is attributed to king Bhoja. It contains a Śloka in the first chapter addressed to Muñja[4] the uncle of the celebrated Bhoja of Dhārā, from which it appears that the work was written soon after the tenth century. Now Subandhu's Vāsavadattā contains many allusions to the Mahābhārata and to some of the characters in the story. Bhīma's having killed the giant Baka, the skill of the Pāṇḍavas in gambling, the Kīcakas as officers of king Virāṭa, Duḥśāsana, Arjuna, and such other persons and events are mentioned. The name of the epic also occurs several times.[5]

The Mṛcchakaṭika is one of the oldest dramas, though its exact date is not yet determined. It is mentioned in the commentary on the Daśarūpa[6] of which more hereafter. In this play, the poet, in order to bring out the meanness, foolishness, and presumption of one of the characters makes him misquote

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1. Ibid, pp. 196 and 197, from पृथां च वार्ष्णेयीं to जयद्रथेऽर्जुनेन लोकान्तरमुपनीतेप्यकृतप्राणपरित्यागाम् and from अर्जुनं च to दुर्लभानसून्प्रापितवान् ।

2. Sāriṅgdhara, chap. on Viśiṣṭha Kavipraśaṁsā :—माघो भारविकालिदासतरलाः स्कन्धः सुबन्धुश्च यः । Dr. Hall's reading of the first name in this is मेघो, which is evidently a mistake. (See his edn. of Vās., p. 20, notes.

3. Prof. Aufrecht's Oxford Cat., p. 209a.

4. Ibid.

5. Dr. Hall's edn., pp. 15, 21, 27, 33, 70, 106, & 147.

6. Dr. Hall's edn. of Daśarūpa, p. 127.

the Mahābhārata. Draupadī is, according to him, dragged by the hair by Rāma instead of Duḥśāsana, Subhadrā becomes the sister of Viśvāvasu and not Kṛṣṇa, and she is carried away by Hanūman instead of Arjuna. In other parts of the play also there are several allusions.[1]

There is a commentary by Śaṁkarācārya on the Bhagavadgītā, which forms an episode of the Mahābhārata. In his principal work—the Bhāṣya on the Vedānta Sūtras- there are many quotations from the Gītā and other parts of the Mahābhārata.[2] A verse from the Sāvitryupākhyāna, an episode in the Vanaparva, occurs in his comments on the Sūtra I. 3. 24.[3] The age of Śaṁkarācārya has not yet been fixed with certainty, but some scholars are of opinion that he flourished in the ninth century. In the Konga-Deśa-Carita, a Tamil chronicle in the Mackenzie Collection, Śaṁkarācārya is mentioned as having converted a king of the Chera country named Tiru Vikrama from Jainism to the Śaiva faith. The date of the king given in the MS. is 100 Śaka. But Prof. Dowson thinks the MS. is not trustworthy here, and is of opinion that he reigned in the sixth century. He also thinks that, perhaps out of a desire to assign a remote antiquity to the reformer, the compiler of the MS. may have transferred him from the reign of Tiru Vikrama II., another king of the same country, to that of Tiru Vikrama I., and assigns the eighth century to the former.[4] Mr. Burgess possesses a Copperplate Grant[5] by Kongaṇi Mahādhirāja, another king of the dynasty, who appears, from a comparison of the plates and the chronicle, to have been the tenth after Tiru Vikrama I., and the third

1. Calc edn. of the play. Śaka 1792, pp. 28, 31, 109, 199.

2. Sūtra Bhāṣya Bibl. Ind. vol. I. p. 275, 456, &c.

3. Ibid. p. 276 :—अथ सत्यवतः कायात्पाशबद्धं वशंगतम् । अङ्गुष्ठमात्रं पुरुषं निश्चकर्ष यमो बलात् ॥. In the Bombay edn. of the Mahābhārata this Śloka occurs as it is here, the only difference being the substitution of ततः for अथ.

4. See the Professor's Essay on the Chera Kingdom, Jour. R. A. S., No. XV., pp. 17, 18.

5. Since published in the Ind. Ant., vol. I., pp. 363-366.

before Tiru Vikrama II. The date of the grant is 388, which supposing the era to be the Śaka, as is very likely, since the dates in the MS. are all referred to that era, corresponds to 466 A. D. Now, taking twenty years as the average duration of each reign, Tiru Vikrama I. must have been reigning in 346 A. D., and Tiru Vikrama II. in 526 A. D. And this latter date, curiously enough, agrees with that given in the chronicle, while the former does not. It thus follows that if the king converted to the Śaiva faith was Tiru Vikrama I., Śaṁkarācārya must have flourished in the fourth century, and if he was Tiru Vikrama II., in the sixth century. The Mahābhārata then must have existed at the latter date.

The drama of the Veṇīsaṁhāra by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa is based on the latter part of the story in the Mahābhārata. It dramatizes the incidents in the war between the sons of Pāṇḍu and Dhṛtarāṣṭra. In the prologue, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa thus speaks of the reputed author of the Mahābhārata :--"I adore Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, who was no Kṛṣṇa, i. e. whose deeds were pure, who had conquered his passions and who composed the nectar of the Mahābhārata, drinkable by the ears." The Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi and the Śiśupālavadha of Māgha are also based on parts of the story in the Mahābhārata. The dates of these authors have not been determined, but it appears they must all have flourished before the tenth century. There are quotations[1] from their works in Dhanika's commentary on the Daśarūpa by Dhanaṁjaya, who was patronised by Muñja, the uncle of Bhoja, as appears from the last verse in the work. Dhanika seems to have been Dhanaṁjaya's brother, and from a Copperplate grant mentioned by Dr. Hall,[2] he appears to have lived in the middle of the tenth century. There are also extracts from these three

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1. Dr. Hall's edn. of Daśarūpa, pp. 118, 142, 143, 146, 148, 150, 151, 152 153, &c. &c.

2. Dr. Hall's Daśarūpa, p. 3, notes.

books in the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa,[1] a work which I have already noticed.

Hemādri, as he tells us in his works, was a minister of Mahādeva, a Yādava king of Devagiri, who, according to Sir Walter Elliot ascended the throne in 1182 Śaka, corresponding to 1260 A. D.[2] In the Dānakhaṇḍa of this author, recently printed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, there are many quotations from the Mahābhārata.[3]

We will next turn our attention to a Marathi work. The Jñāneśvarī a Marathi commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, was finished as the author tells us, in the year of Śaka 1212 i. e., 1290 A. D.[4] In the first chapter the Mahābhārata is spoken of in terms of praise and reverence, and we are told that the Bhagavadgītā was addressed by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna and occurs in the Bhīṣmaparva of the work, as it does in our existing copies. Janamejaya also is mentioned by Jñāneśvara.[5]

Sāyaṇa was minister to Bukka, king of Vijayanagara, whom he mentions in all his works. Bukka was on the throne in 1334 A.D.[6]

Sāyaṇa quotes from the Mahābhārata in his commentary on the Taittirīya Upaniṣad. In the Sarvadarśana-Saṁgraha an

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1. Dr. Aufrecht's Oxford Cat., p. 208b, p 209a. In the Iwullee Inscription noticed above, Dr. Bhau reads the name of Bhāravi, and in the copy given in the Bombay Society's Journal the name does seem to occur in the last line, but in the photographic copy the Ra is wanting, and the word looks like Bhāvi. I cannot arrive at any definite conclusion on the point in the absence of a better copy of the Inscription.

2. Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 28.

3. Pp. 6, 10, 25, 31, 33, &c.

4. शके बाराशतें बारोत्तरें तैं । टीका केली ज्ञानेश्वरें । सच्चिदानंद बाबा आदरें । लेखक। जाहाला । Last verse of chap. 18.

5. .. म्हणऊनि जनमेजयाचे अवलीळा । दोष हरले ॥ म्हणऊनि महाभारतीं नाहीं तें नोहे लोकीं तिहीं । येणें कारणें म्हणिजे पाहीं । व्यासोच्छिष्ट जगत्रय ॥ मुनि सांग नृपनाथा जनमेजया ॥...

6. Princep's Chronological Tables.

argument is brought forward by a follower of Jaimini to prove that the Vedas are eternal. An objector is then introduced who says that it would apply equally well to the Mahābhārata. In another place also the epic is mentioned in the Sarvadarśana-Saṁgraha.[1] In the same book quotations from the Kāvyaprakāśa occur.[2] The Kāvyaprakāśa itself quotes from the Veṇīsaṁhāra[3] which I have already mentioned. Sāyaṇa quotes from the Mahābhārata in his comments on Parāśara also.[4]

Śārṅgadhara, in his Paddhati or anthology, tells us that he was the grandson of Rāghava, who was in the service of Hammīra, a Cohan prince.[5] Hammīra came to the throne, according to Col. Tod, in 1300 A. D.[6] Śārṅgadhara must have therefore flourished in the latter part of the fourteenth century. In his

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1. Sarva-Darśana-Saṁgraha, Bibl. Ind., p. 64 and p. 128.

वेदस्याध्ययनं सर्वं गुर्वध्ययनपूर्वकम् ।
वेदाध्ययनसामान्यादधुनाध्ययनं यथा ॥
इत्यनुमानं प्रतिसाधनं प्रगल्भत इतिचेत्तदपि न प्रमाणकोटिं प्रवेष्टुमीष्टे ।
भारताध्ययनं सर्वं गुर्वध्ययनपूर्वकम् ।
भारताध्ययनत्वेन सांप्रताध्ययनं यथा ॥ इति ।

2. Ibid., p 172.

3. In the Chapters on Rasa and Doṣa.

4. Prof. Aufrecht's Oxford Cat., p. 265a, 266b; Anuśāsana-parva and Āśvamedha-parva are mentioned here.

5. पुरा शाकम्भरीदेशे श्रीमान्हम्मीरभूपतिः ।
चहुवाणान्वये जातः ख्यातः शौर्ये इवार्जुनः ॥
तस्यात्भवत्सभ्यजनेषु मुख्यः
* * * *
द्विजाग्रणी राघवदेवनामा ॥
गोपालदामोदरदेवदाससंज्ञा बभूवुस्तनयास्तदीयाः ।
तेषां मध्ये यस्तु दामोदरोभूदुत्पाद्य त्रीनात्मजान्वीतरागः ।
* * * *
ज्येष्ठः शार्ङ्गधरस्तेषाम् ।

6. Dr. Hall's Vāsavadattā, p. 48, notes.

Paddhati he quotes from the Veṇīsaṁhāra, Kirātārjunīya, Śiśupālavadha, Bhagavadgītā and other parts of the Mahābhārata.[1]

I have thus briefly sketched the principal testimonies to the existence of the Mahābhārata from the time of Pāṇini and Āśvalāyana, i. e., from about the fifth century before Christ to the time of Śārṅgadhara, i. e. the 14th century after Christ.

The antiquity of the Mahābhārata being thus established, the grant, which according to Prof. Airy's calculations was made in 1521 A. D., must be pronounced to be a forgery. The fact that the villages conveyed by it are still in the possession of the descendents of the pretended donees agrees with the conclusions arrived at from the other data. Most of the queries of Col. Ellis contained in the letter before us, based as they are on the genuineness of the grant, require, I think, no answer. He refers to a passage in Ānandagiri's Śaṁkara-Vijaya in which the Maṭha of Maṇḍaṇa Miśra is said to have been situated a few miles from Hastināpura, which, as I have before mentioned, the Colonel identifies with Anaguṇḍi. There must have been some mistake here ; for Mādhava in his Śaṁkara-vijaya tells us that Maṇḍana Miśra lived in Māhiṣmatī, on the Narmadā.[2] Anaguṇḍi may have been called Hastināpura in some corner of the country, and there is some ground for it, for the name Anaguṇḍi is derived from one, which in Canerese means, I am told, an elephant, and Guṇḍi a lane. But the classical Hastināpura was certainly far to the north. Patañjali, in his remarks on the Sūtra yasya cāyāmaḥ (Pāṇini II. 1. 16) gives Anugaṅgam Hāstinapuram as an example from which it is clear that Hastināpura was situated on the Ganges. Besides, in the grant, Janamejaya is represented as having gone from his capital to the south to subjugate the different parts of the country, and performed the Sarpasatra or

1. Chapters on Viśiṣṭakavipraśaṁsā, Raudrarasa, Bhayānakarasa, Śāntarasa, Vīrarasa, &c. &c.

2. See the Bombay Edition of Mādhava's Śaṁkara-vijaya, chap. viii.

serpent-sacrifice at Harihara, at the junction of the Tungabhadrā with the Haridā. There is a place of that name on the map and it is situated at the junction of the Tungābhadrā with another river, but its bearing from Anaguṇḍi is South-east by east, so that it appears that even in the grant the Hastināpura that was meant was that one in the north. Some of the Colonel's questions to the identification of the places the names of which occur in the grant can only be answered by one acquainted with the locality.

THE ARYANS IN THE LAND OF THE ASSURS

(Skr. ASURA)

[FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, VOL. XXV, pp. 76 ff.]

(Communicated)

Since the discovery[1] in Asia Minor of a treaty between the King of the Hittites and the King of Mitani in which the latter invokes Indra, Mitrāvaruṇa and the Nāsatyas in those forms of the names which are found in the Ṛk-Saṁhitā, the question before scholars has been where in the course of Vedic culture to place what this Inscription exhibits. No satisfactory conclusion seems to have been arrived at, but one direction may be pointed out for inquiry which will enable us to arrive at a plausible solution of the problem. The enquiry should take its start from the word Asura. In the Brāhmaṇas it signifies a race of beings inimical to the Devas, or gods. In the Ṛk-Saṁhitā it is mostly used in the sense of "living", "vigorous", "powerful" and applied as an epithet to various gods such as Dyaus, Indra, Varuṇa, &c. But in three or four cases it denotes beings hostile or inimical to the gods. There are, however, a few passages in which what is said about the Asuras resembles that which is said in connection with the Dasyus, and there the word may be taken to denote enemies of men. In ṚV. VIII. 96. 9, Indra is called upon to destroy by his wheel the Asuras who are not gods or are godless. In other places the gods are said to have destroyed the hosts belonging to the Asuras Varcin and Pipru. Some gods (Indra, Agni and Sun) are called Asura-han or Asura-slayers.

In the following passages the term Asura denotes the enemies of men more distinctly :-- In AV. XIX. 66. 1, the Asuras are spoken of as rivals (Sapatnān) by the worshipper and Agni is

1. See JRAS, for 1909, page 721 ff.

implored to slaughter them. If they were rivals of the worshipper, they must have been men like the Dasyus. Again in AV. IX. 2. 17 and 18, Kāma is invoked to dispel the worshipper's rivals as the gods did the Asuras and as Indra hurled the Dasyus into utter darkness. Here Asuras are compared with the Dasyus and may be like the latter the aborigines of a specific country. In AV. X. 3. 11, we have स मे शत्रून्वि बाधतामिन्द्रो दस्यूनिवासुरान् । Here the amulet of the Varuṇa-tree is desired to "destroy the wearer's enemies as Indra did the Dasyus, the Asuras." Here Dasyus and Asuras are put together, the former characterising the latter so as to make the whole signify "the Dasyu Asuras or aboriginal Asuras," or the expression may be taken to mean "Dasyus and Asuras"; in which case it is possible to understand that if the aborigines of India were called by the first name, the Asuras also must signify the aborigines of some other country.[1] These quotations point to the Asuras being the enemies of the Āryan wanderers like the Dasyus and to their having been destroyed by the gods of the emigrants.

There is a passage in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya which shows that the name Asura denotes a certain class of Mlecchas or foreigners: "तेऽसुरा हेलयो हेलय इति कुर्वन्तः पराबभूवुः । तस्माद्ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छितवै नापभाषितवै । म्लेच्छो ह वा एषः यदपशब्दः । म्लेच्छा मा भूमेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥"[2]. Those Asuras uttering the words हेलयः हेलयः were

1. The word Dasyu is by some taken to mean demons or enemies of gods. But the preponderant sense being the dark-coloured aborigines of India who did not acknowledge the Āryan gods and did not obey the Āryan ordinances and whom the gods enabled the Āryan to vanquish, it must surely have led to the words having come to signify the enemies of gods. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, which is to be referred to a period not far removed from the later hymns of the Atharva-Veda, plainly and distinctly understands by the word the aboriginal races amongst which it includes the Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas (VII. 18). In the last two quotations in the text it is perfectly allowable to take the word Dasyu to mean human enemies or Indian aborigines; and the Asuras are contrasted with them in so far as they resembled the Dasyus in being an aboriginal people but differing from them as belonging to a country other than India.

2. Kielhorn's Edition, Vol. I, page 2.

baffled (were defeated), for say the commentators, instead of हे ३ अरयः हे ३ अरयः which is good Sanskrit, they omitted the long (Pluta) vowel, elided the अ, and changed र to ल, and thus showed themselves not to be Āryans but Mlecchas.--Therefore, a Brāhmaṇa should not act like a Mleccha and speak incorrectly. An incorrect word, it is said, is a Mleccha (Mleccha-making). We should learn Vyākaraṇa in order that we may not become Mlecchas." Here it is clear that by the word Asura is meant a foreign, un-Brahmanic race.

This passage occurring in Patañjali's work must have been taken from some Brāhmaṇa which has not been traced yet. But there is a similar passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (III.2.1, 18-24). The gods and the Asuras, it is said, sprang, both of them, from Prajāpati and entered upon their father's inheritance. The gods came in for the mind and the Asuras for speech. Thereby the gods came to have the sacrifice and the Asuras speech only; the gods came to have the yonder world (the heaven) and the Asuras this (earth). Thereafter the gods contrived to deprive the Asuras of the speech which they had inherited from Prajāpati and when this was effected the Asuras uttering हेलवः हेलवः were baffled. "Such was the untelligible speech which they then uttered,-and he (who speaks thus), is a Mleccha (barbarian). Hence let no Brāhmaṇa speak barbarous language (न म्लेच्छेत्), since such is the speech of the Asuras"[1] (असुर्या हैषा वाक्). Here I lay stress on two statements. The heaven was assigned to the gods and the earth to the Asuras is one of them. It means that the Asuras were the denizens of this earth. The second statement is that the Brāhmaṇas are enjoined not to act like Mlecchas, i. e., not to speak Mleccha language. For it is Asurya speech or the speech of the Asuras. These show that the Asuras were regarded as dwellers of the earth, and as speaking Mleccha language; and consequently were Mlecchas or foreign barbarians. Who then were these Asuras,

1. Eggeling's Translation, Part II, Sacred Books of the East, p. 32.

who dwelt on the earth, were Mlecchas, were rivals or opponents of the Āryans and are compared with the Dasyus or aborigines of India, who contested the passage of the Āryans throughout India ? The answer is supplied by the Inscription under notice.

Now the King of Mitani and the people over whom he ruled inhabited the northern portion of the plain between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Their neighbours were thus the Assyrians or Assuryans, if the Greek vowel which is generally represented by Y, may be translated by U as is often done. Amongst the Assyrians we find such names as Assur-bani-pal, Assur-Nazir-pal Tiglath-pileser, &c. The name Assyria itself is said to have been derived from Assur, the name of the ancient capital of the country and its gods. Assyria corresponds to Asuryāḥ as applied to Lokāh in the Īśāvasyopaniṣad (verse 3) and may be regarded as meaning the country of the Asuras. Thus then it is not unlikely that just as in India the progress of the Āryans was contested by the Dasyus, so was it contested by the Asuras of Assyria and they were thus compared with the Dasyus in some of the passages quoted above. That the Assyrians were Mlecchas according to the ideas of Hindus is plain enough. In later times especially when Āryans settled in the region of the five rivers, and afterwards when their religious system was developed in Brahmāvarta, the reminiscences of the human Asuras and the fights of the Aryans with them and their civilisation led to the whole subject having transformed itself into a myth of the determined enmity between the Devas and the Asuras. It is said that the enmity resulted from a scism between the Avestic people and the Vedic people as regards the gods worshipped by them. The Devas worshipped by the Brāhmaṇas were stigmatised as demons by the Iranians, and the Indians repaid the compliment by representing the Ahuras or Asuras as fiends. But the objection to this is that Ahura is in Avesta the name of the Supreme Lord Ahuramazdā and the name does not denote a whole race of beings though it may be applied to two

or three angels. The explanation, therefore, that our mythical Asuras represent the Asuras of Assyria seems more plausible. Thus the word Asura first signifies (1) a "living spirit", "of wonderful power," and was used as an epithet of the gods, even the most ancient of them Dyaus. Then it came to denote (2) a human being hostile to the wandering Āryans, and the reason why it acquired this sense is that they came in contact with the Asuras of Asyria as is shown by the Inscription under discussion. This led in later times to the sense (3) of a race of mythical beings hostile to gods. Without the implication of hostileness the word came to denote (4) a Mleccha or a foreigner of that name. This is shown by the quotation from Patañjali and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and also by the name of Mayāsura to be mentioned below. The word Asura in the first sense appears entirely distinct from that which has the three last senses.

In AV. VI. 108.3, we are told of the wisdom which the Asuras possessed. They are credited with the possession of Māyā or magical power in AV. VI. 72. 1. The Śrauta Sūtra of Āśvalāyana (X. 7. 7) speaks of an Asurī Vidyā as the Veda of the Asuras who constitute the subjects ruled over by a king of the name of Asita Dhānva. The Asurī Vidyā is unquestionably magical skill and knowledge. Maya-Asura who had located himself in Khāṇḍava forest knew architecture and constructed an Audience Hall or a palace for the Pāṇḍavas in return for Arjuna's having saved his life while the forest was burning. Dr. Spooner, Archæological Superintendent, Bengal Circle, ridiculously enough traced the name Asura-Maya to a reminiscence of the great god Ahura-Mazda, thereby converting him into a craven creature that had taken refuge in the Khāṇḍava forest. The Assyrians, we are told, cultivated the art of architecture and were known for their skill in building, and it is more reasonable to trace the name of the architect of the Pāṇḍavas to an Assyrian or Asura proficient in architecture.

But the question arises, if the Vedic Āryans were, as the Inscription shows, the neighbours of the Assyrians of the 15th century B. C., about what time did they migrate to India and settle in the land of the five rivers. If they took about 500 years to reach the latter country and began their Vedic culture, i. e., the composition of the hymns and the systematising of the sacrificial worship, after that period, the time that elapsed between this event and the rise of the Buddhism in the 6th centnry B. C. is too short for the innumerable incidents that marked the progress of the Indians from the Vedic stage to the Buddhistic stage. This objection is certainly of great weight and to meet it we must resort to the theory of Brunnhofer that all hymns were composed not in the Punjab; but Vedic poetry began when the Indian Āryans lived in a more northerly region. It is "the work of poets of North Iran from Caspian Sea to the Punjab." I should, however, correct this North Iran into North Mesapotamia or the region thereabouts. If my derivation of the word Asura from the name of the inhabitants of Assyria is correct, the Āryans must have lived in their neighbourhood for a very long period, since the whole literature from the latest portion of the Saṁhitās and the subsequent literature is full of Asuras and incidents connected with them, showing that they had made a strong, indelible impression on the mind of the Āryans. The Vedic Ṛṣis cannot be considered to have been in a condition of literary inactivity during their wanderings from their original home, whereever it was, and suddenly thrown into a literary mood after they reached the Punjab. The object of those who collected those hymns into the ten Maṇḍalas of the Ṛg-Veda and the twenty Kāṇḍas of the Atharva-veda was to look for any piece of composition existing in any corner of the Āryan country or in any family; and comparative antiquity of composition was not taken into consideration in arranging them, but other principles such as identity of the deity and the number of verses were resorted to in forming the persent collection. The ten Mandalas and the twenty Kāṇḍas, therefore, may very well be taken as comprising

all the hymns and stanzas composed since the the time the Āryans lived in their original home, whether in the North of Mesopotamia or elsewhere and went on wandering until they settled in the land of the five rivers. By the middle of the 15th century B. C., the Indian Aryans had progressed so far in the development of their religion as to cenceive of five deities, one single and four arranged in groups of two each. These groups along with the grammatical forms of the names are exactly as they exist in Ṛg-Veda. A great deal of hymnal literature must have gathered round those names by that time; and its origin may with Brunnhofer be pushed back to about 2500 B. C.

The question remains whether the Indian Āryans settled in the Punjab before the date of the Inscription or afterwards. The Āryans appear in India as divided into a number of tribes. Some tribes may have migrated before the 15th century B. C., but those who lived in the neighbourhood of Assyria must have gone afterwards. But that they did go is unquestionable. For they preserved the memory of their struggles with the Asuras who are compared to the Dasyus of India and of such other points about them as have already been detailed. Their memory, however, of the Asurya-Loka was certainly not agreeable to them. For they speak of it as enveloped in stark darkness to which those who commit suicides are sent[1]. The Mādhyandina Recension[2] of the Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣad condemns the ignorant to those regions and that of the Kāṇvas[3] forgets that it was the Asurya country and gives its general character only by calling it Anandāh or the joyless country.

I have thus simply indicated a new line of research. To work it out fully by comparing all the necessary passages in the

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1. See the verse referred to above from the Īśāvāsyopaniṣad.

2. IV. 4. 14, page 45 of Böhtlingk's Edition.

3. IV.4.11.

Vedic literature and also comparing what we find therein with what the Assyriologists have to tell us, is a task that at my age with my eyesight considerably impaired, is beyond my power. It will, of course, be taken up, if found to be a sound and promising line of research, by intelligent and accurate scholars, who, I see, are coming forward and who will maintain our reputation for critical scholarship and will carry on the work of research amongst us in a manner to win the appreciation of the great scholars of the West.[1]

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1. The above constitutes in a somewhat expanded form the observations I made at a meeting of the Poona Literary and Philosophical Club held on the 15th August 1917, in connection with the paper read by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar on "Devas and Asuras."

PĀṆINI AND THE GEOGRAPHY OF AFGHANISTAN AND THE PANJAB.

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOLUME I, 1872, PP. 21 ff]

The chief native authorities for ancient Indian geography, hitherto made use of by Antiquarians, are the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas. But there is another, and a very important one, which is not frequently referred to. The great Grammarian Pāṇini and his commentators, often give very useful information in cases where the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas afford no hint. We propose in the following remarks to show by examples, what use may be made of in this branch of Sanskrit literature, in illustrating the ancient geography of India.

In teaching the formation of the names of places and of the inhabitants thereof, Pāṇini, as is usual with him, gives general rules where possible; and where not, he groups together certain names, in which the grammatical peculiarity is the same. These groups are distinguished from each other by the name of the first in the list, with an expression which is equivalent to 'and others' added to it. In the body of the work, the names of the groups so formed, and the grammatical or etymological changes characteristic of them, are only given, while the words constituting each group are set forth, in what may be considered as an appendix to the work, called Gaṇa-Pāṭha. Instances of the general rules are given by the commentators, but they are not, on that account, to be considered as recent. There is internal evidence to show that most of these must have been handed down from the time of Pāṇini himself. A good many are given by Patañjali, the author of the great commentary on Pāṇini's work. On the other hand, all the words comprised in each group ought not, because the Gaṇa-pāṭha is attributed to Pāṇini, to be regarded as having been laid down by him.

Several of the Gaṇas, or groups, are what are called Ākṛtigaṇas, i. e., such as each subsequent writer has the liberty of adding to ;

and we have no doubt, that even such as are not now considered to be of this nature, must have fared similarly at the hands of the early successors of Pāṇini. For instance, the name of the mediæval Kāṭhiāwāḍ town Valabhī, occurs at the end of the group called Varaṇādi (Pāṇini IV. 2. 82) and of Ujjayinī, in the same group, and also at the end of Dhūmādi (Pāṇini IV. 2. 127). No one would, we believe, push his specticism, as to the age of Pāṇini so far as to urge that this proves him to have flourished after Valabhī came into importance under the dynasty of Bhaṭārka. And if any one were to do so, it would not be difficult to satisfy him. For, independently of the mass of evidence hitherto brought forward to prove that Pāṇini flourished long before the Christian Era, we may state that in the Copperplate grant[1] of Dharasena IV we find puns on a good many of the technical terms of Pāṇini, and the great grammarian himself is alluded to under the name of Śālāturīya, (native of Śālātura). This shews that Pāṇini was at that time a person of established reputation, and consequently, was even then an ancient author. The groups or Gaṇas, therefore, seem to have been tampared with by his successors, but we think we are safe in ascribing the first three names at least, in each, to him.

The number of names of towns, villages, rivers, mountains, and warlike tribes, occurring in the works of Pāṇini and his commentators, is very large. It would be difficult, or even impossible, to identify them all, but the positions and modern names of a good many can be determined with ease. It is not our purpose in this article to notice all such places, but to confine ourselves to such as may seen to throw new light on some doubtful points connected with the Ancient Geography of Afghanistan and the Panjab.

The northernmost kingdom of Afghanistan, in ancient times, was known to some of the Greek and Roman Geographers by the name of Kapisene, and the Chinese traveller Hwan Thsang

1, Translated from the Indian Antiquary, I, p. 14.

calls it Kia-pi-she. Pāṇini mentions Kāpiśī (IV. 2. 99), from which he derives Kāpiśāyanı, the name of a wine, manufactured from grapes, produced in the district. The country about Kabul is still remarkable for its fine grapes. The name of another kingdom was Archosia, which was called Arkhoj or Rokhaj by the Arab geographers, and Tsaukuta, supposed to be equivalent to Raukuta by Hwan Thsang. European antiquarians trace the name, or that of the river Archotis, in the province, to the Zend Haraqaiti, corresponding to the Sanskrit Sarasvatı. But we are not aware upon what evidence a river of the name of Sarasvatī is fixed in this district. Sarasvatı is one of the Sapta Sindhavaḥ, or seven rivers of the Vedas, and if assigned a position here, would certainly be far away from the other six. The river Sarasvati was situated to the east of the Sutlej. Perhaps the name Archosia, Arkhoj, or Rokhoj, is to be derived from that of the mountain Rikṣoda, mentioned by Pāṇini's commentators, the Brahmans living about which, were called Arkṣodas. This name is given as one to which Paṇini's rule (IV. 3. 91) does not apply.

Another province of Afghanistan is called Fa-la-nu by Hwan Thsang, and identified with the modern Vaneh or Wanach by some, and with Bannu by General Cunningham. The Sanskrit name corresponding to this is not known. Pāṇini, however, mentions a country named Varṇu in several places (IV. 2. 103, and IV. 3. 93), which is very likely the same as Hwan Thsang's Fa-la-nu. The country of Gandhara is mentioned in the group Kacchhādi IV. 2. 133 and in IV. 1. 169, and the river Suvāstu, the modern Swat, a branch of the Kabul river, in IV. 2. 77.

The position of the hill-fort of Aornos, in the capture of which, Alexander the Great displayed very great valour, is still a matter of uncertainty. The Sanskrit name corresponding to it is also equally unknown. Professor Wilson[1] traces it to the word Āvaraṇa, 'enclosure,' which, he thinks, forms the latter part of

1. See Wilson's Ariana Antiqua.

many names of cities. Whether it was actually so used, is more than doubtful, and it would be necessary to suppose that the Greeks in their Aornos dropped the first part of the name, retaining only the latter. General Cunningham derives it from the name of a king, whom he calls Rājā-Vara. May it not be the Varaṇā mentioned by Pāṇini in IV. 2. 82 ? It was the name of a city as well as its people. There is a place on the right bank of the Indus, opposite to Attak, still called, we are told, Baranas or Varanas.

The Ortospan of the classical geographers has been identified with the modern Kabul. The Sanskrit name corresponding to it is not known. Professor Wilson derives it from such an original as Ūrddhasthāna. But we do not meet with such a name, and the etymology is purely aimless and conjectural. To derive it from the name of a tribe would be more reasonable. Hwan-Thsang calls the country about the place Fo-li-shi-sa-tang-na. May not this name be derived from such a compound as Parśusthāna, the country of the Parśus, a warlike tribe mentioned by Pāṇini in V. 3. 117 ?

Pāṇini and Patañjali call the Panjab, Bāhlika (IV. 2. 117 and V. 3. 114). The historians of Alexander tell us, that after having crossed the Hydraotes or Rāvi, in the course of his march through the Panjab, he captured and destroyed a town of the name of Saṅgala. European antiquarians have identified it with the Sanskrit Śākala. But Śākala, from the evidence to be gathered from the Mahābhārata, and according to Hwan Thsang, who visited the place, was situated to the west of the Rāvī. Professor Wilson, therefore thinks, that after Alexander had destroyed the Śākala to the east of the Rāvī, another was founded to the west of the river. This is merely a gratuitous supposition. General Cunningham thinks that Alexander re-crossed the Rāvī to conquer the town. Would it not be better to suppose that the two places were distinct ? Alexander destroyed Saṅgala, while Śākala existed in the time of Hwan Thsang. Saṅgala belonged to a tribe that had no King, while Śākala was the capital

of the Madras, who were governed by a king. Sangala is very probably to be traced to Saṅkala, a place mentioned by Pāṇini in IV. 2. 75. Saṅkala was the name of the person who is said to have founded the city. It stands at the head of the group Saṅkalādi, the second name in which is Puṣkala, from whom the city of Pauṣkala, the ancient capital of Gāndhāra, [and the Peukalas of the ancient European geographers, derived its name. Saṅkala agrees more closely with Saṅgala than Śākala. If this identification is to be trusted, the occurrence of the name of Saṅgala in Pāṇini may be taken as a proof of his having flourished before Alexander; for the Macedonian conqueror is said to have destroyed the city, on which account it must have ceased to exist after him.

The central province of the Panjab is called Pa-la--fa-to by Hwan Thsang, transcribed Parvata by M. Julien. General Cunningham proposes Sorvata for Parvata. But Parvata is given as the name of a country by Pāṇini, IV. 2. 143 and in the group Takṣaśilādi, under IV. 3.93.

In the central and lower Panjab, Alexander met with two tribes of warriors, named the Malii and the Oxydrakæ. The Sanskrit original of the former is unknown ; and Professor Wilson identifies the latter with the Śūdrakas of the Purāṇas. But there is a rule in Pāṇini V. 3. 114 which teaches us to form the singular and dual of the names of warlike tribes in the Panjab, by addding the termination -Yā and changing the vowel of the first syllable to its Vṛddhi. Of this rule, his commentators give Mālavyas (pl. Mālavas) and Kṣaudrakyas (pl. Kṣudrakas) as instances. We thus learn that the Mālavas and Kṣaudrakas were two tribes of warriors in the Panjab. The name Mālavas corresponds with Malii, and Kṣudrakas with Oxydrakæ. Kṣudrakas is nearer to the latter than Professor Wilson's Śūdrakas.

At the confluence of the Panjab rivers, Alexander came in contact with a tribe which is called Sambracæ or Sabracæ. General Cunningham traces this name to Samvāgri, which he

considers a Sanskrit word. But we are not aware of the existence of such a word; and it has an unsanskrit look about it, meaning as it does, according to the General, 'united warriors.' The Sabracæ were probably the Śaubhreyas, grouped along with the Yaudheyas, in V. 3. 117.

ON THE DATE OF PATAÑJALI AND THE KING IN WHOSE REIGN HE LIVED

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOLUME I, 1872, PP. 299ff.]

In Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya or great commentary on Pāṇini, a rule (Vārtika) laid down by Kātyāyana, is given,[1] teaching that the Imperfect should be used to signify an action not witnessed by the speaker but capable of being witnessed by him and known to people in general. Of this rule Patañjali gives two instances : "The Yavana besieged [Aruṇat] Sāketa ", and " The Yavana besieged [Aruṇat] the Mādhyamikas." The siege of Sāketa, therefore, must be considered to have been an event capable of being witnessed by the speaker, i. e., by Patañjali himself ; in other words, some Yavana king must have besieged Sāketa in Patañjali's time. Sāketa is the usual name for Ayodhyā. Reasoning in this way, the late Prof. Goldstücker arrived at the conclusion that the Yavana here spoken of must have been Menandros, King of Bactria, who is said to have pushed his conquests in India to the river Yamunā. Menandros, according to Prof. Lassen, became king about 144 B. C. Patañjali therefore must have lived about that time.

But there is another passage in Patañjali not noticed by Prof. Goldstücker, in which the name of the king of Pātaliputra, during whose reign he flourished, is given, and which enables us to arrive at the date of the author of the Mahābhāṣya in another way and from other data. In his remarks on Pāṇini, III. 2. 123, Patañjali quotes a Vārtika of Kātyāyana, the meaning of which is : "A rule should be made teaching the use of the present tense [Laṭ] to denote an action or undertaking which has been begun but not finished." The examples given by Patañjali are :—" Here we study ; " " Here we dwell ; " " Here we perform (as priests) the sacrifices (instituted) by Puṣpamitra." Then Patañjali asks : – " How is it that Pāṇini's rule III. 2. 123,

1. Vārtika 2 on Pāṇini III. 2. 111 (Keilhorn, Vol. II, p. 119). [N. B. U.]

(Vartamāne laṭ), which teaches that the present tense should be used to denote present time, does not extend to these cases ? " The answer is : " The time here involved is not present time." How not ? This question is answered by Kaiyaṭa, whose gloss upon this runs as follows :—" The phrase 'here we study' means that study has begun but not ended. When the students, being engaged in dining and doing such other things, do not study, they cannot then properly say 'we study' [according to Pāṇini III. 2. 123, i. e., they cannot use the present tense, for it is not *study* that is then going on, and consequently the time is not present ;] hence the rule by Kātyāyana." [1] The sense of the whole is, that when an action, such as that of studying or performing the great sacrifices, spreads over many days, the present tense should be used to denote it, if the action has begun but not ended, even though at the time of speaking the speaker may not be actually performing the action. " Here we sacrifice for Puṣpamitra," is Patañjali's example. Now this cannot be an imaginary instance, for such a one would not bring out the distinctive sense that Patañjali wishes to convey, namely, that the action has begun but not ended. This example, then, expresses a fact ; namely that, at the time Patañjali wrote, there lived a person named Puṣpamitra, and a great sacrifice was being performed for him and under his orders. If he employed priests to perform the great sacrifices for him, he must have been a king, for in the olden days, it was Indian kings that propitiated the gods and patronized the Brahmans in this way. The sacrifices were always expensive, and were treated rather as extraordinary festivals than ordinary religious performances. But in another

1. Pāṇini : वर्तमाने लट् III.2.123 ; Kātyāyana : प्रवृत्तस्याविरामे शिष्या भवन्त्यवर्तमानत्वात् ।; Patañjali : प्रवृत्तस्याविरामे शासितव्या भवन्ति । इहाधीमहे । इह वसामः । इह पुष्पमित्रं याजयामः । किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति । अवर्तमानत्वात् । Kaiyaṭa : प्रवृत्तस्येति । इहाधीमह इत्यध्ययनं प्रवृत्तं प्रारब्धं न च तद्विरतम् । यदा च भोजनादिकां क्रियां कुर्वन्तो नाधीयते तदाधीमह इति प्रयोगो न प्राप्नोतीति वचनम् । Patañjali then proceeds to say that the sense is conveyed by Pāṇini III.2.123 and no new rule is required ; but this has no bearing on the present question.

part of the Mahābhāṣya, we are actually told who this Puṣpamitra was. Pāṇini in I. 1. 68 tells us that any grammatical change or operation that he may have in his work prescribed in the case of a certain word ought to be made applicable to that word alone and not to what it signifies, or to its synonyms. This, however, does not hold in the case of his own technical terms. Thus, for instance, to form derivatives in a certain sense from the word Agni (fire) the termination Eya should, he says, be applied to Agni. The meaning of this rule should not be stretched so as to make it applicable not only to Agni, but to other words also having the sense of Agni. Vahni for instance also means fire, but does not take that termination. But in the case of the technical terms of grammar, the change or operation should be effected in the case of the things (which of course are words) signified by that term. Thus, for instance, when he tells us to apply a certain termination to Ghu, it is to be applied, not to Ghu itself, but to the roots to which the name Ghu is given by him. Now Patañjali, after a long discussion of this rule, in the course of which he shows that it is not wanted, though out of respect for the great Ācārya he does not distinctly say so, tells us that there are some Sūtras in which the rules given are applicable :—1, sometimes to the synonyms of the words :—2, sometimes to the individuals comprised under the species denoted by the word :—3, sometimes to the words alone, and, sometimes to any two of these three. In these cases some indicatory letters ought, he says, to be attached to the words to show to which, or to which two, of the three categories the rule is to be applied. Then in such rules as II. 4. 23, which teaches that a Tatpuruṣa compound ending in the word Sabhā (court or assembly) preceded by Rājan (king) becomes neuter, he tells us that J should be attached to Rājan and others, to show that the rule is applicable only to the synonyms of Rājan and others, and not to Rājan or others themselves, or to the individuals comprised under the species denoted by Rājan and others. And the instance he gives to show that it is not applicable to

individual Rājas or kings are Puṣpamitrasabhā (the assembly or court of Puṣpamitra) and Candragupta-sabhā[1] (the assembly or court of Candragupta) in which we see that the compound is not neuter but feminine. We thus come to the conclusion that Puṣpamitra was the name of a king.

Now, we know that the most powerful kingdom during a few centuries before Christ, the sovereigns of which extended their sway over a large portion of India, was that of Magadha, the capital of which was Pāṭaliputra. And Patañjali so often speaks of this city in his work[2] that we must infer that he had a great deal to do with Pāṭaliputra, and perhaps lived there for sometime, and that on that account the city and things concerning it were uppermost in his thoughts. The Puṣpamitra then that he speaks of, in the two cases here pointed out, must have been king of Pāṭaliputra in his time. And the fact of his being mentioned along with Candragupta in one of the two cases strengthens this inference. For Candragupta the Maurya was king of Magadha, and there was no Candragupta till several centuries afterwards when the Gupta dynasty came into power.

Now looking into the Purāṇas we find that there was only one king of Magadha of the name of Puṣpamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, which succeeded the Mauryas.[3] He was the

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1. Patañjali : ञित्पर्यायवचनस्यैव राजाद्यर्थम् । ञिन्निर्देशः कर्तव्यः । ततो वक्तव्यं पर्यायवचनस्यैव ग्रहणं भवति । किं प्रयोजनम् । राजाद्यर्थम् । सभा राजामनुष्यपूर्वा । इनसभम् । ईश्वरसभम् । तस्यैव न भवति । राजसभा । तद्विशेषाणां च न भवति । पुष्प-मित्रसभा । चन्द्रगुप्तसभा ।

2. See amongst others his comments on I. 3-2, II. 1.16, II. 3.28, III. 3.134, and 136 and V. 3.57. In the second of these, one of the examples given is अनुशोणं पाटलिपुत्रम् । 'Pāṭaliputra was situated on the banks of the Soṇa.'

3. And I may say that the Purāṇas do not mention another king of the same name of any country whatever. The name *Puṣpamitra* does occur elsewhere, but in that case there is no agreement among the Purāṇas. The Viṣṇu and the Vāyu Purāṇas make it the name of a dynasty, and according to the former it was a Bāhlīka or foreign dynasty. The Bhāgavata only mentions it as the name of an individual, but this

Commander-in-Chief of Bṛhadratha, the last Maurya king, and

Purāṇa, from the manner in which it has corrupted several names and some facts, is not much to be depended on. See Wilson, Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, 1st edition, p. 478.

This Puṣpamitra is spoken of in the Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa. Prof. Wilson calls him a general, and Prof. Lassen the general of his son, who is represented in the drama as the king of Vidiśā. Prof. Lassen, Ind. Alterthumsk. (vol. II. p. 271 and 346) is constrained however by other evidence to admit that he was king ; but he thinks he reigned at Vidiśā, and that his son was co-regent with him. Prof. Wilson supposes that he usurped the throne for his son rather than for himself. But the first portion of the passage on which they seem to base their conclusions is thus ;—Devasya senāpateḥ Puṣpamitrasya sakāśāt .... lekhaḥ prāptaḥ. Professor Lassen understands this to mean " a letter has been received from Puṣpamitra, the general of the lord (i. e. Agnimitra).'. But who ever heard of a father being Commander-in-Chief to his son ? And immediatedly after, Puṣpamitra is represented as about to perform an Aśvamedha sacrifice, which none but kings who pretended to paramount supremacy could institute. In other authorities also it is Puṣpamitra that appears as the conqueror or usurper and not his son. Puṣpamitra therefore could not have been his son's general; nor does Kālidāsa say that he was. Agnimitra's commander-in-chief was Vīrasena, to whom he is more than once represented in the play as issuing orders. The words above quoted are to be thus interpreted :—" A letter has been received from the Lord Senāpati (general), Puṣpamitra" i. e., the genitive Devasya ought to be taken as an epithet of Puṣpamitra, and not as connected with or governed by Senāpati. Indeed the title Deva shows that Puṣpamitra was king, for it is applied in the dramatic works to kings only, and there is even a rule to this effect (See Dr. Hall's Daśarūpa, p. 109 : Devaḥ svāmīti nṛpatiḥ). And Senāpati (general) must have become a distinguishing epithet of Puṣpamitra, for he was the general of Bṛhdratha, the last Maurya king. And even in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, the epithet Senāpati seems to have been applied to him somewhat in this way :—" Tataḥ Puṣpamitraḥ Senāpatiḥ Svāminam hatvā rājyam kariṣyati. " The first two kings of the Valabhī dynasty in Surāṣṭra were called Senāpatis ; nor does it follow from this passage that Vidiśā was the capital of Puṣpamitra, but rather the opposite. For, in the letter which he sends to Agnimitra, he invites the latter to come with his wife to be present at the Aśvamedha sacrifice. If Vidiśā had been his capital, the sacrifice would have been performed at that city, and no such invitation would have been necessary. It follows, therefore, that some other city was Puṣpamitra's capital, and what other could it have been but Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Mauryas whom he had supplanted, and which in the Buddhistic account given by M. Burnouf is mentioned as his place of residence ?

usurped the throne after having killed his master.[1] The ten Mauryas are said to have ruled the kingdom for 137 years.[2] The accession of Candragupta, the first of these ten, has been fixed about 315 B. C. Puṣpamitra, therefore, must have raised himself to the throne about 178 B. C. The Matsya Purāṇa assigns him a reign of 36 years,[3] i. e., from 178 B. C. to 142 B. C. It follows then that Patañjali wrote his comments on Pāṇini III. 2. 123 some time between these limits. The limits assigned by Dr. Goldstücker, reasoning from the one example he considers, are 140 and 120 B. C. But there is apparently no reason why he should not take into account the earlier years of Menandros's reign. For, according to Prof. Lassen, Menandros must have become king about 144 B. C.[4] The passage in the Mahābhāṣya,

Agnimitra his son may probably have been appointed by him Governor or King of Vidiśā, while he himself reigned as supreme monarch at Pāṭaliputra; for the practice of appointing sons to govern remote provinces existed in the time of the Mauryas. May not Patañjali be alluding to this Aśvamedha sacrifice in the instance quoted in the text?

1. The Buddhist Aśoka-Avadāna erroneously makes him the successor of Puṣyadharman, and the last of the Mauryas. See Burnouf, Introd. à la Hist. du Bud. I. p. 432; Lassen, Ind. Alt. II. pp. 271, 272, 345, 346. —This last is a Note by the Editor of the Indian Antiquary 1872 —[N. B. U.]

2. Viṣ. Pur. VI. 24, or Wilson's translation.

3. Wilson's Viṣ. P. 1st Edn. p. 471. The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa agrees with the Mātsya. See Dr. Hall's note in his edition.

4. Various dates have been assigned to the accession of Menandros from B.C. 200 to B.C. 126. But the facts here brought forward may be used as a corrective. The manner in which Patañjali (in the passage alluded to in the next para of the text) contrasts the times in which the Mauryas lived with his own shews that when he wrote, the new polity had completely superseded the old. This may have taken twenty years or more. He could not have said "the Mauryas did such and such a thing but in these days it is not so," if he wrote only five or six years after they were displaced. Patañjali therefore may have written the passage as early as B.C. 158. 'Now in order that about this time Puṣpamitra and Menandros should be contemporaries, it is necessary that the date of the accession of the later should not be pushed higher than about 175 B.C. nor lower than 142 B.C., for Menandros reigned for about 20 years according to all the writers; and only the two dates that fall within these limits are those assigned by Gen. Cunningham (B. C. 160) and Prof. Lassen. If we take that of the former, the limits between which the third chapter of the Mahābhāṣya was written will be about 158 and 142 B. C. But I have adopted Prof. Lassen's date as it agrees sufficiently with all the facts.

on which I base my conclusion, is not far from the one noticed by Dr. Goldstücker. The latter occurs in the comments on III. 2. 111, while the former in those on III. 2. 123. We thus see that when this portion of the Bhāṣya was written, a Yavana king (who must have been Menandros) had laid seige to Sāketa or Ayodhyā, and Puṣpamitra was reigning at Pāṭaliputra; and if we adhere to Lassen's chronology these two things could have happened only between 144 B. C. and 142 B. C.; for there is is, I think, no reason to distrust the chronology of the Purāṇas here, since the date arrived at from the statements contained in them coincide in a remarkable degree with that determined from the evidence of coins. And even supposing that Prof. Lassen's date is not quite accurate, it must be admitted that it cannot be very far wrong.

We thus see that Patañjali lived in the reign of Puṣpamitra, and that he probably wrote the third chapter of his Bhāṣya between 144 B. C. and 142 B. C. And this agrees with the conclusion drawn by Prof. Goldstücker from a statement in another part of the work that the author of the Mahābhāṣya flourished after the Maurya dynasty was extinct. Since all the passages, then, and the different historical events they point to, lead us to about the same period, the date of Patañjali so derived must be regarded as trustworthy, and in the History of Sanskrit Literature, it is of great importance.

A NOTE ON PROFESSOR WEBER'S LETTER

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOLUME II, 1873, PP. 59-61].

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar read in manuscript Professor Weber's remarks on certain points regarding Puṣpamitra, Patañjali &c. the following is Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's reply to the same. [N. B. U.]

Through the courtesy of the editor of the Indian Antiquary, I have been permitted to see Professor Weber's letter, which contains notices of my article on the Date of Patañjali, and of my paper on the Age of the Mahābhārata. This is not the first time the Professor has been so kind to me. One of my humble productions he has deemed worthy of a place in his Indische Studien.[1] While, therefore, I am thankful to him for these favours, I feel bound to consider his remarks on my articles, and to reply to them.

Professor Weber thinks it a pity that I should not have been acquainted with his Critique on Dr. Goldstücker's Pāṇini. I hardly share in his regret, because the facts which I have brought forward are new, and my conclusions are not affected by anything he has said in the Review. He certainly brought to notice, in that Critique (as I now learn), the occurrence in Patañjali of the expression "Puṣpamitra-Sabhā."[2] But Professor Weber will see that my argument is not at all based on that passage. I simply quoted it to show that even Patañjali tells us that the Puṣpamitra he speaks of in another place was a king, and not an ordinary individual or an imaginary person. My reasoning in the article in question is based on the words "Iha Puṣpamitraṁ yājayamaḥ." This is given by Patañjali as an instance of the Vārttika, which teaches that the present tense (Laṭ) should be

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1. The paper is printed in this volume later. [N. B. U.]

2. By the way, I prefere the form 'Puṣpamitra' to "Puṣyamitra" as the latter appears to me to be a mislection for the former, which might easily occur, प-'p'- being often by careless scribes written as य -'y'.

used to denote an action which has begun but not ended. Now this passage was noticed neither by Professor Weber nor by Dr. Goldstücker ; and hence the trouble I gave to the Editor of the Antiquary. The passage enables us, I think, to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to the date of Patañjali, since it shows that the author of the Mahābhāṣya flourished in the reign of Puṣpamitra. And the conclusion based on this and on one of the two instances pointed out by Dr. Goldstücker, viz., Aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sāketam, agree so throughly with each other, that they can leave but little doubt on the mind of the reader as to the true date of Patañjali.

But I must consider Professor Weber's argument for bringing Patañjali down to about 25 after Christ. The two instances brought forward by Dr. Goldstücker contain the name Yavana; and a king of that generic name is spoken of as having besieged Śāketa, commonly understood to be Ayodhyā. This name was applied most unquestionably, though not exclusively, to the Greek Kings of Bactria. The Yavanas are spoken of, in a Sanskrit astronomical work noticed by Dr. Kern, as having pushed their conquests up to Sāketa; and Bactrian Kings are also mentioned by some classical writers as having done the same. Looked at independently, this passage leads us to the conclusion arrived at Dr. Goldstücker, that is it fixes the date of Patañjali at about 150 B. C. But the other instance contains in addition the name Mādhyamikas. The Buddhist school of that name is said to have been founded by Nāgārjuna, who, according to the Rājataraṅgiṇī, flourished in the reigns of Kaniṣka and Abhimanyu, that is, a few years after Christ. This instance then brings the author of the Mahābhāṣya to some period after Christ. Here then is a case resembling those which are frequently discussed by our Paṇḍitas, in which a Śruti and a Smṛti (or a Śruti and an inference) conflict with each other. The Brahmanical rule is that the Śruti must be understood in its natural sense, and the Smṛti so interpreted as to agree with it, that is, any sort of violence may be done to the Smṛti to bring it into conformity

with the Śruti, and the inference must be somehow explained away. Now, in the present case, Professor Weber's Śruti is the instance containing the name of the Mādhyamikas. But the word Yavana, occurring in it and in the other instance, cannot be taken to apply to the Greek kings of Bactria, for the dynasty had become extinct a pretty long time before Christ. Professor Weber therefore thinks that by it is to be understood the Indo-Scythic king Kaniṣka, who reigned before Abhimanyu. But Kaniṣka cannot be regarded as having oppressed or persecuted the Mādhyamikas, for he was himself a Buddhist. This objection is obviated by the Professor by the supposition that he must have persecuted them before he became one of them.

I must confess this argument appears to me to be very weak. It has many inherent improbabilities. In the first place, I do not see why the passage containing the name Mādhyamika and the name itself should be regarded as so much more important than the other passage and the name Yavana. Why may we not rather take our stand on this latter name, and the mention of the conquests of the King so designated upto Sāketa, and interpret the word Mādhyamika by the light thus thrown upon it? And the passage I have brought forward is, I think, so decisive, and agrees so well with this statement, that some other explanation must be sought for of the name Mādhyamika; but of this more hereafter. In the next place, we have to suppose that the most important period of Nāgārjuna's life was passed in the reign of Kaniṣka, that he lived so long in that reign as to have founded a school, and that in that reign the sect assumed the name Mādhyamika, and grew into such importance that its fame spread so far and wide, and that even Patañjali in the far east knew of it. From the words of Rājataraṅgiṇī, however, it would appear that Nāgārjuna and his disciples or school rose into importance in the reign of Abhimanyu, the successor of Kaniṣka; for the words are—" About that time (i. e., in the reign of Abhimanyu) the Bauddhas, protected by the wise Nāgār-

juna, the Bodhisattva, became predominant." And in the same reign, we are told in the history of Kashmir, that the Bhāṣya of Patañjali was introduced by Candrācārya and others in that country. In the Vākyapadīya also it is stated that in the course of time it came to pass that Patañjali's work was possessed only by the inhabitants of the Deccan, and that too only in books, i. e., it was not studied. Afterwards Candrācārya brought it into vogue. Now even supposing for a time that the Bhāṣya was written in the reign of Kaniṣka, i.e., about 25 A.D., fifteen or twenty years are too small a period for it to have come to be regarded as a work of authority, to have ceased to be studied, to have existed only in books in the South, and to have obtained such wide reputation as to be introduced into Kashmir, a place far distant from Patañjali's native country and from the Deccan. Even Professor Weber is staggered by the shortness of the interval; but instead of being thus led to call in question his theory or the soundness of his argument, he is inclined to doubt the authenticity of the texts brought forward by Dr. Goldstücker. Besides, he gives no evidence to show that the name Yavana was applied to Indo-Scythic kings. I am aware that at different periods of Indian history it was applied to different races; but this vague knowledge ought not to be sufficient to lead us to believe as a matter of fact that it was applied to these kings. And the generic name by which they were known to the author of the Rājataraṅgiṇī was Turuṣka. This name is not unknown to Sanskrit Literature, for it occurs even in such recent work as the Viśvaguṇādarśa. I cannot, therefore, believe that Patañjali could not have known it, if he really lived so late as in the time of those kings. And that Kaniṣka persecuted the Buddhists before he himself became convert, is a mere supposition, not supported by any reliable authority. Kaniṣka is also not mentioned anywhere as having carried his conquests upto Sāketa, while, as before observed, the Yavanas are mentioned by Hindu writers, and the Bactrian King by Greek authors, as having done so,

'The truth is that the name "Mādhyamika" has been misunderstood both by Dr. Goldstücker and Prof. Weber; and hence, in giving Dr. Goldstücker's argument in my article, I omitted the portion based on that name. The expression Aruṇad Yavano Mādhyamikām makes no sense, if we understand by the last word, the Buddhist school of that name. The root √rudh means "to besiege" or "blockade"; and the besieging or the blockading of a sect is something I cannot understand. Places are besieged or blockaded, but not sects. I am aware that Professor Weber translates this verb by a word which in English means "to oppress"; but I am not aware that the root is ever used in that sense. By the word "Mādhyamika" is to be understood the people of a certain place, as Dr. Kern has pointed out in his preface to his edition of the Bṛhat-Saṁhitā, on the authority of the Saṁhitā itself. We are thus saved the necessity of making a string of very improbable suppositions; and in this way Professor Weber's argument, based as it is on the hypothesis that the Mādhyamikas alluded to by Patañjali were the Buddhist sect of that name, falls to the ground. The first of Dr. Goldstücker's passages (the word "Yavana" occuring in both of them), and the passage I have for the first time pointed out, taken together, determine the date of Patañjali to be about 144 B. C. And this agrees better with the other passages pointed out by Dr. Goldstücker. For, if Patañjali lived in the reign of the founder of the Śuñga dynasty, one can understand why the Mauryas and their founder should have been uppermost in his thoughts; but if he lived in 25 A. D., when the Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty was in power, one may well ask why he should have gone back for illustrating his rules to the Mauryas and Candragupta, and passed over the intermediate dynasties of the Śuñgas and the Kāṇvas.

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As to my paper on the Age of the Mahābhārata, I have to observe that it was written with a certain purpose. Colonel Ellis, going upon the authority of the Cowja Agrahāra grant,

translated by Colebrook in 1806, and again by Mr. Narasimmiyengar in Part II of the Indian Antiquary, had referred the composition of the Mahābhārata to a period subsequent to 1521 A.D., and had asked the Asiatic Society of Bombay to make inquiries as to whether the ashes of the Sarpa-Sattra instituted by Janamejaya could be found by digging for them at Anagundi, with which the Colonel identified Hastināpura; and whether the remains of the palace, in which Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā, was crowned, were observable at the place. My object, therefore, was to show that the Mahābhārata was far more ancient, and that it existed at and before all the well-ascertained dates in Sanskrit Literature. It was not meant to collect all possible evidence, whether certain or doubtful, for the existence of the poem. Had I thought of doing so, it would have taken me much longer time than I could spare; and some of the books to which it would have been necessary to refer were also wanting. I have not even brought together all the passages bearing on the point to be found in Patañjali's work. But I am content for the present to leave the task to the well-known industry and acuteness of Prof. Weber.

MAHĀBHĀṢYA OF PATAÑJALI

[From the Indian Antiquary, Vol. II, 1873, p. 69 ff].

(I) Puṣpamitra.

Since I wrote last on the subject, I have discovered a third passage in the Mahābhāṣya in which Puṣpamitra is spoken of. Pāṇini in III. 1. 26, teaches that the termination Aya, technically called Ṇi, should be applied to a root when the action of causing something to be done is implied. Upon this, the author of the Vārtikas observes that a rule should be made to provide for the use of the causal and primitive forms in the uninverted or the usual order in the case of the roots Yaj and others. This Patañjali explains thus :—" Puṣpamitra sacrifices (Yajate), and the sacrificing priests cause him to sacrifice (i. e., to be the sacrificer by performing the ceremonies for him). This is the usual or uninverted order of using the forms. But by Pāṇini's rule, the order ought to be ' Puṣpamitra causes (the priests) to sacrifice, and the priests sacrifice. ' This objection is removed by the author of the Vārtikas himself, by saying that the root Yaj signifying several actions, the usual or uninverted order is provided for, and no new rule is necessary. How it is so, Patañjali tells us as follows :—" Yaj denotes several actions. It does not necessarily signify the throwing of the oblations into the fire, but also giving money, or providing the means of the sacrifice. For instance, they say 'O ! how well he sacrifices,' in the case of one who provides the means properly. That providing of the means, or giving money, is done by Puṣpamitra, and the sacrificing priests cause him so to provide or so to become the sacrificer. In this sense, then, Puṣpamitra sacrifices (Yajate), and the priests cause him to perform it (Yājayanti). " This is the univerted or the usual order. In the sense of throwing the oblations into the fire, the other is the correct order.[1]

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1 Pāṇini III.1.26 ;—Kātyāyana : यज्यादिषु चाविपर्यासः । Patañjali : यज्यादिषु चाविपर्यासो वक्तव्यः पुष्पमित्रो यजते याजका याजयन्तीति । तत्र भवितव्यं पुष्प-

In this instance we see Patañjali speaks of the sacrifices of Puṣpamitra as if he were familiar with them; and by itself this passage shows that he could not have lived long after him, certainly not so long as 175 years after, as Prof. Weber makes out. But the other instance pointed out on page 300 Volume I of the Antiquary, in which his sacrifices are spoken of as if going on, shows that he lived *in* Puṣpamitra's time. The three passages, then, in which his name occurs are perfectly consistent with, and confirm, each other.

(II) PATAÑJALI'S NATIVE PLACE

Indian tradition makes the author of the Mahābhāṣya, a native of a country called Gonarda, which is spoken of by the grammarians as an eastern country. The Matsya-Purāṇa also enumerates it amongst the countries in that direction. The position of Patañjali's native place, whether it was Gonarda or some other, can, I think, be pretty definitely fixed by means of certain passages in his work. In his comments on Pāṇini III. 3. 136, the two following passages occur: (1) Yoyam adhvā gata ā Pāṭaliputrāt tasya yadavaraṁ Śāketāt—' Of the distance or path from Pāṭaliputra which has been traversed [such a thing was done in] that part of it which is on this side of Sāketa;' and (2) Yoyam adhvā ā Pāṭaliputrād gantavyas tasya yat paraṁ Sāketāt—' Of the distance or path up to Pāṭaliputra which is to be traversed [something will be done in] that portion which lies on that side of Sāketa.[1] In these two instances we see that the limit of the distance is Pāṭaliputra, and that it is divided into two parts, one of which is on this side of Sāketa, and the other on that. Sāketa, then, must be in the middle, i. e., on the way from the place represented by ' this ' in the expression ' this side, ' to Pāṭali-

मिश्रो याजयते याजका यजन्तीति । Kātyāyana : यज्यादिषु चाविपर्यासो नानाक्रियाणां यज्यर्थत्वात् । Patañjali : यज्यादिषु चाविपर्यासः सिद्धः । कुतः । नानाक्रियाणां यज्यर्थत्वात् । नानाक्रिया यजेरर्थाः । नावश्यं यजिर्हविःप्रक्षेपण एव वर्तते । किं तर्हि त्यागेऽपि वर्तते । &c.

1. I omit the grammatical details of this as not necessary.

putra. This place must be that where Patañjali speaks or writes; and it must, we see, be in the line connecting Sāketa and Pāṭaliputra on the side of it remote from Pāṭaliputra. The bearing of Oudh from Pātnā is north-west by west; Patañjali's native place, therefore, must have been somewhere to the north-west by west of Oudh. Prof. Weber thinks he lived to the east of Pāṭaliputra; but of this I have spoken elsewhere.

Let us now see whether the information thus gathered can be brought into harmony with the tradition mentioned above. The exact position of Gonarda is not known; but if it really was Patañjali's country, it must have been situated somewhere to the north or north-west of Oudh. Now, there is a district thereabouts which is known by the name of Gonḍa, and there is also a town of that name about 20 miles to the north-west of Oudh. According to the usual rules of corruption, Sanskrit rda (र्द) is in the Prakrits corrupted to dda (द्द), but sometimes also it is changed to ḍḍa (ड्ड)[1]. Gonarda, therefore, must in the Prakrit assume the form Gonaḍḍa. Hasty pronunciation elides the A, and, in the later stages of the development of the Prakrits, one of the two similar consonants is rejected.[2] The form is thus reduced to Gonḍa, which is the way in which it is now pronounced. General Cunningham derives Gonḍa from Gauḍa.[3] But, so far as I am aware, there are no instances of the insertion of a nasal in a Prakrit word, when it does not exist in the corresponding Sanskrit one. It appears, therefore, very probable that the district of Gonḍa in Oudh was the ancient Gonarda, and had the honour of giving birth to the great author of the Mahābhāṣya.

(III) THE NATIVE COUNTRY OF KĀTYĀYANA.

Prof. Weber is of opinion that Kātyāyana was one of the eastern grammarians, and Dr. Goldstücker agrees with him. But it is a question whether the distinction between Northern

1 Vararucī's Prākṛtaprakāśa, III. 26.
2 Compare Weber's letter, Indian Antiquary, Vol.II, 1873, p.57. [N.B.U.[
3 Ancient Geography, p. 408; Arch. Surv. Vol. I, p. 327.

or eastern grammarians, which Pāṇini mentions, really existed in the time of Kātyāyana. But to whatever school of grammarians he may have belonged, supposing such schools existed in his time, it appears, from a passage in the Mahābhāṣya, that the author of the Vārtikas was a Dākṣiṇātya, i. e., a native of the South or the Deccan. In the introduction to the Mahābhāṣya[1] occurs a passage, the sense of which is this :—"If a man, who wishes to express his thoughts, does so by using some words or other simply from his acquaintance with the usage of the world, what is the use of grammar? The object of grammar is to restrict the liberty of speech in such a manner that religious good may arise from it ; just as is done in the affairs of the world and in matters concerning the Vedas. In the world we find people saying ' A domesticated cock should not be eaten. ' Things are eaten for the satisfaction of hunger. Hunger, however, can be satisfied even by eating dog's flesh, and such other things. But then though it is so, a restraint is put on us, and we are told such a thing is eatable and such a thing is uneatable. * * * In the same manner, while one is able to express his thoughts equally by correct or incorrect words, what grammar does is to restrict him to the use of correct words, in order that religious good may arise from it."

Now, this is Patañjali's explanation of two Vārtikas, the latter of which is : Yathā laukikavaidikeṣhu, i. e., 'as in the world and in the Veda.' On this Patañjali's remark is : Priya-taddhitā Dākṣiṇātyāḥ । Yathā loke vede ceti prayoktavye yathā laukika-vaidikeṣviti prayuñjate, i. e., the Dākṣiṇātyas, i. e. people of the South or the Deccan, are fond of using (words with) Taddhita affixes, that is, instead of saying Yathā loke vede ca they say Yathā laukika-vaidikeṣu " (i. e., instead of using the words Loka and Veda, they use derivatives from them, formed by affixing the termination Ika.). This clearly means that Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārtika in which the words Laukika and Vaidika occur, was a Dākṣiṇātya.

1. Ballantyne's Edition, pp. 54, 56.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF PATAÑJALI

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOL. II, 1873, p 94 ff.]

In the extract from Prof. Weber's critique on Dr. Goldstücker, given in the Indian Antiquary vol. II, p. 61, there are several points, besides the main one I took up which require notice. From the passage about the Mauryas quoted by Dr. Goldstüker, Prof. Weber infers that Pāṇini, in making his rule V. 3. 99, had in his eye such images as those that had come down from the Mauryas. How the passage supports such an inference, I am at a loss to see. Pāṇini in that Sūtra tells us that the termination Ka applied to the names of objects, in the sense of images of those objects, is dropped in cases when the images enable one to earn his livelihood, but are not saleable. Upon this Patañjali observes that, because the word—'unsaleable' is used, such forms as Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ, and Viśākhaḥ (in which the termination Ka is dropped) are not valid. Why not? Because the Mauryas, desirous of obtaining gold, used, or applied, to their purpose, i. e., sold, objects[1] of worship. Since, then, these (viz., images of Śiva, &c.) were sold by them, they were Paṇya, or 'saleable,' and hance the termination Ka should not be dropped. It may not be droopped in those cases (i.e., the proper forms must be Śivaka, &c.), says Patañjali, but it is dropped in the case of those images which are now used for worship.—This interpretation of the passage is consistent and proper. Prof. Weber understands it to mean, that the only cases in which the rule about the dropping of the termination does not apply, are those of images with which the Mauryas were concerned. But that it is inapplicable to all images that are saleable, is clear from the passage itself, and the two commentaries on it. Kaiyaṭa distinctly says that the rule does not

1. The reading in the Benares edition is Arcyāḥ, and not Arcāḥ.

apply to those that are sold, and gives Śivakān vikriṇīte as an instance. What Patañjali means to say is that the termination Ka should be applied to the names of the images sold by the Mauryas, according to Pāṇini's rule; but the rule is set aside in this case, and the wrong forms Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha are used. Nagojibhaṭṭa expressly states :—Tatra pratyaya-śravaṇam iṣṭameveti vadan sūtrasyodāharaṇaṁ darśayati : (i.e., Saying that the use of the termination there is necessary, he points out an instance of the rule). Now, in all this there is not only nothing to show that Pāṇini had the images sold by the Mauryas in view, but that the names of those images violate his rule. Dr. Goldstücker's interpretation of this passage is also not correct.

In the next place, Prof. Weber thinks that the word Ācārya in such expressions as Paśyati tvācāryaḥ, occurring in the Mahābhāṣya, applies to Patānjali. It appears to me that Prof. Weber has overlooked the context of these passages. In all these cases the Ācārya meant is clearly Pāṇini, and not Patañjali. I will here briefly examine two or three of the passages referred to by the Professor, for I have no space for more. In the first of these, the question Patañjali discusses is this :—Which Ṇ is it that is used in the term Aṇ occurring in the Sūtra : Ur an raparaḥ,[1] i. e., does Aṇ here mean only A, I, and U, or all the vowels, semi-vowels, and H? He answers by saying that the ṇ in this case is clearly the first, and not the second, that is, that which is at the end of the sūtra a- i- uṇ, and hence Aṇ signifies only the vowels A, I, and U. And why is it to be so understood? The Sūtra Uraṇraparaḥ means, when Aṇ is substituted for R, it is always followed by R, that is, if, for instance, you are told in a Sūtra to subsititute A for R, you should substitute not A alone, but Ar. Now, the reason why, in this Sūtra, Aṇ signifies the first three vowels only, is that there is no other significate of the more comprehensive term Aṇ, that is, no other vowel or any semi-vowel or H which is ever substituted for ṛ. "Why not? there is", says the objector. One instance brought forward by

1. Pāṇini, I. 1. 51. [N. B. U.]

him is explained away, and an other that he adduces is Mātṝṇam. In this case, by the Sūtra Nāmi,[1] a long vowel, i. e., ṝ is substituted for the short Ṛ. Ṛ is a significate of the more comprehensive aṇ and not of the less comprehensive. Hence, then, the objector would say the aṇ, in the Sūtra ur aṇ, &c., is the more comprehensive one. But, says the Siddhāntī, this is not a case in which the substitute has an r added on to it. Does it follow from Pāṇini's work itself that no r is to be added? For aught we know, Pāṇini may have meant that r should be added in this case also. Now, the evidence from Pāṇini for this is in the Sūtra Rīta iddhātoḥ[2]. 'This is the reason,' says, the siddhāntī, 'why the word dhātu is put in the sūtra,—that in such cases as Mātṝṇām and Pitṝṇām, which are not dhātus, ir may not be substituted for the long ṛ. If the long vowel substitute in Mātṝṇām had an r following it, it would not be necessary to put the word dhātu in this Sūtra, for Mātṝr would not then be an aṅga or base[3] ending in r and such bases only are intended in the sūtra rita iddhātoḥ. The use of the word Dhātu then shows that "the Ācārya sees that in Mātṝṇām, &c., the long substitute has not an r following it, and hence he uses the word dhātu in the sūtra."[4] —Now, it is evident from this that the Ācārya is Pāṇini, for the Ācārya is spoken of as having put the word dhātu in the Sūtra for a certain purpose. The author of the Sūtras being Pāṇini, the Ācārya meant must be he himself. In the same manner, in the passage at 196 (Ballantyne's edition), Pāṇini is intended, for the Ācārya is there spoken of as having put t after ṛ in the sūtra urṛt. Similarly, in page 197,[5] the Ācārya is represented as having used n twice in the Pratyāhāra Sūtras. The author of

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1. Pāṇini, VI, 4. 3. [N. B. U.]

2. Ibid, VII, 1. 100. [N. B. U.]

3. Antyatvād, the reading in Ballantyne's Mahābhāṣya, is wrong or not good. It ought to be Anantyatvād as in the new Benares edition.

4. Paśyati tvācaryo nātra raparatvam bhavati tato dhātu-grahaṇaṁ karoti.

5. Pāṇini, VII. 4. 7. [N. B. U.]

these Sūtras, then, is meant there. And I may say that, so far as I have seen the Bhāṣya, the word Ācārya used in this way, applies either to Pāṇini or Kātyāyana, and Patañjali never speaks of himself as Ācārya.

Thirdly.—Prof. Weber's interpretation of the Vārtika : Parokṣe ca loka,[1] &c., is different from Dr. Goldstücker's and mine. But he will see that our interpretation is confirmed by Kaiyaṭa and Nāgojibhaṭṭa. He seems to take Parokṣam in the sense of the 'past.'

But Patañjali's own explanation is :—Param akṣnoḥ parokṣam : (that which is turned away from the eyes, i.e., not seen), and one of his quotations from other writers about the sense of the word is: kuḍya-kaṭāntaritaṁ parokṣam[2] (that which is hidden from one even by a fence), both of which show that the only essential sense of the word is 'a thing not seen by the speaker.' Darśana-viṣaya, the Professor interprets by a thing once seen, or that which once fell within the range of the speaker's vision;' but if it has been once seen, it can never be called parokṣa in the sense which is always attributed to the word.

Fourthly.—Prof. Weber quotes from Patañjali the passage Mathurāyāḥ Pāṭaliputraṁ pūrvam, and infers that the author of the Mahābhāṣya lived to the east of Pāṭaliputra. His interpretation of the passage seems to be 'Pāṭaliputra is first and Mathurā afterwards.' But the natural sense is—'Pāṭaliputra is to the east of Mathurā,' as it is, or rather was, as a matter of fact. That Patañjali lived, not to the east of Pāṭaliputra, but to the north-west of Sāketa, I have shown in a separate article.[3]

Lastly, Dr. Goldstücker and Prof. Weber understand the word Ācāryadeśīya used by Kaiyaṭa in some places in the sense of "Countryman of the Ācārya." It is not unnatural that an antiquarian, looking for historical facts in what he reads; should

1. Vārtika 2 on III. 2. 111.

2. See Mahābhāṣya, under Parokṣe liṭ, III. 2. 115.

3. In the article, on "Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya," under "Patañjali's Native Place" printed earlier in this volume, p. 124. [N. B. U.]

interpret his author thus; but it is not natural that a Hindu commentator, caring only for his subject, and not at all for history, should use such an expression to contrast one of the authors he comments on with another. He will look to the scale of estimation in which he holds them. To the Hindu grammarian the greatest Ācārya is Pānini, next to him is Kātyāyana, and next to this latter is Patañjali. If it is necessary in one place to contrast one of them with another, he would naturally use some such expression as Acārya and Ācārya the younger. And this appears to me to be the sense of the word, and a Hindu would naturally understand it thus. It is derived according to Pāṇini V. 3. 67; but the sense ought not to be taken as 'an unaccomplished teacher,' as Dr. Goldstücker does, but a teacher who is lower in the scale, or the younger teacher. And that Patañjali was so, is plain. That there is very great reason to believe that Patañjali and Kātyāyana did not belong to the same country, I have shown elsewhere.[1]

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1. Namely, at p. 124, above. [N. B. U]

REPLY TO PROFESSOR WEBER.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume, II, 1873, pp. 238-40].

(Prof. Weber replied to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's observations, and the following is the latter's final reply.—N. B. U.)

Professor Weber does not, so far as I can see, refute my argument for inferring from the passage about Puṣpamitra I have brought forward, that Patañjali was a contemporary of tha monarch, nor does he assign his own reasons for differing from me. In the passage containing the words "Iha Puṣpamitraṁ yājayāmaḥ," Patañjali does not merely speak of Puṣpamitra's sacrifices as one living after him might do, but he speaks of them in a definite manner. If those words illustrate the rule that the present tense (Laṭ) denotes actions that have begun but not ended, and if, again, Puṣpamitra was a historical personage, and not a mere Caius, it certainly does, in my opinion, follow that the action of sacrificing had not ended when the passage was written. If we were in these days required to give an instance of such a rule, an instance containing the name of a historical personage, should we give such a one as "Johnson edits the Rambler," or "Gibbon is writing the History of the Decline and Fall ?" Would not on the contrary, our instances be such as "Drs. Böhtlingk and Roth are compiling a Dictionary of Sanskrit ?" I think we should use such as this latter, for in the former the actions of editing and writing have long been over, and consequently they would be of no use to illustrate the rule, which specially requires that they should not be over. I perfectly agree with what Professor Weber says in the quotation he gives from his essay, and I myself always thought tbat Dr. Goldstücker's inference from the instance about Kashmir was extremely weak. But I contend that my instance in not one containing merely the "first person," but it is one in the present tense, and given purposely to illustrate, the use of that tense in a certain sense, and that sense, therefore, the present tense in the instance given must have. The passage is

exactly similar to : Aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sāketam, the historical value of which is admitted by Professor Weber. The translation Professor Weber gives of the passage under discussion does not seem to remove the obscurity in which he says mine was shrouded.

With regard to the second point, I must complain of Professor Weber's not believing what I say with regard to myself. The exigencies of the controversy do not, I think, require this. I again distinctly state that the reason why I was silent as regards Dr. Goldstücker's second instance, was that I did not agree with him in his interpretation of it, and my object in the article was not to criticize him, but to throw additional light on the date of Patañjali. I considered his rendering very questionable when I first read the book, about ten years ago, and some time before I wrote an article in the Native Opinion reviewing his theory of Pāṇini's technical terms.[1] My principal reason was the impropriety of speaking of a sect or school as besieged. And I had, and have, a feeling that the names of the Buddhistic Schools generally known to Sanskrit authors could not have originated so early. Dr. Kern's book I saw and glanced over the preface of it, several years ago, but I did not rembember his explanation of the word Mādhyamikā when I wrote my article in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. I. p. 299, though I always thought the word meant some such thing. But soon after the article appeared, and before Professor Weber's criticism on it was received, I read Dr. Kern's Preface again, so that it was not Professor Weber that first directed my attention to it.

Now to come to Professor Weber's remarks on my article[2] [Indian Antiquary Vol. II. p. 69]. The Professor still adheres to his interpretation of the passage : Mathurāyāḥ Pāṭaliputraṁ pūrvam. And his reason is Patañjali's use of the word Vyavahita in that connection, which he thinks means 'distance.' Now the word Vyavahita, so far as I know,

1. This essay is printed here later. [N. B. U.]
2. Printed in this Volume, pp. 108ff. [N. B. U.]

never means 'distance' but 'covered,' 'concealed,.' or 'separated' by something intervening; as, for instance, England is Vyavahita from us, by several countries and seas intervening; or in the word Rāmeṇa, r is Vyavahita from n by ā, m, and e. The context of the passage in Patañjali is shortly this:— In the Sūtra Acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau, the question is with reference to what standard is the word Pūrva or 'preceding' to be understood? For a time he takes the Nimitta, or condition of a grammatical change, to be the standard, and says that the principal example of this Sūtra, viz. patvya or mridvya is also explained or shown to fit with the rule on this supposition. How does it fit? The state of the case in Paṭvyā is this:—First we have Paṭu then ī the feminine termination changed to y and after that, ā, the termination of the instrumental singular. This last is the Nimitta of the chage of the previous ı to y. Then what is to be done by applying the Sūtra is to regard y as a vowel and change the u of paṭu to v. But says the objector, the rule in the Sūtra does not apply here on the supposition you have made, for the u of Paṭu is not pūrva from ā, which is the Nimitta, as it is separated from it by y substituted for i. Then, says the original speaker, the word Purva is used not only to signify a thing that immediately precedes another, but also to signify one that precedes but is separated from it by something intervening, as in such expressions as this: "Pāṭaliputra is pūrvam from Mathurā," in which Purvam is used though several places intervene between the two towns. -Now, it is plain that this is given as a phrase in use and current among the people to serve as an authority for taking Pūrva in a certain sense, and therefore, if Professor Weber's inference is correct, all people using the expression, i.e., the Sanskrit-speaking population of India, must have lived to the east of Pāṭaliputra.— The only proper meaning therefore is "Pāṭaliputra is to the east of Mathurā." And even if we take Professor Weber's explanation, "Pāṭaliputra is before Mathurā," it does not follow that the speaker, supposing he was Patañjali—which however is not the case—was to the east of Pāṭaliputra, any more than it does when

say "The horse is before the cart" that I am to that side of the cart, and not this, or to this, and not that. The word Pūrva no doubt means primarily 'before,' but when applied to show the relations between places, the anteriorness of one from another is to be taken with reference to the usual standard in such comparisons, namely– the rising sun. Hence the word comes to signify the 'east,' and as used in connection with places it has always this sense. I have no doubt therefore that my interpretation of the passage is correct, and that it does not in any way militate against the conclusion I have drawn from another as to the native place of Patañjali. I do not see why a district very near Oudh may not be said to be situated Prācāṁ deśe. Benares was not the point from which the bearings of different places in India were taken. Prāgdeśa, Udagdeśa, &c were settled terms; and one living in Prāgdeśa could call himself Prācya. Amara defines Prāgdeśa as that lying to the south and east of the Sarasvatī.

Professor Weber gives no reason for thinking that Yathā laukikavaidikeṣu is not a Vārtika. But this passage is explained by Patañjali and made the subject of a dissertation just as other Vārtikas are. The whole argument given by the author of the Mahābhāṣya, a portion of which was reproduced by me in my article, is contained in these three aphorisms, the last of which is the one under discussion :–1, Siddhe śabdārtha-sambandhe ; 2, Lokatortha-prayukte śabdaprayoge śāstreṇa dharma-niyamaḥ ; 3, Yathā laukika-vaidikeṣu. These are all explained and, as texts, descanted upon by our author ; he mentions Acārya[1] incidentally as the author in connection with the first of these, which Ācārya must be Kātyāyana here, since these are not Sūtras, and Nagojibhaṭṭa[2] expressly calls the first two Vārtikas. The third also must then be a Vārtika, since it is of a piece in every respect with the other two, and completes the argument, which without it would be incomplete. The aphorism cannot be the composition of Patañjali, for he makes it the subject of his criticism

1 Ballantine, pp. 47, 49. 2. Ibid. p. 53.

and says that the words contained in it are Deccani words. I cannot understand the connection between this passage and the one quoted by Professor Weber about the use of Sarasī in the South. What has that to do with the circumstance of this being a Vārtika? If Professor Weber means to show that Patañjali was acquainted with the lingual usages prevailing in the South, I do not deny that he was, and it is just the lingual usages in that part of the country that are noticed even here. But this does not destroy the character of the passage as a Vārtika. It must be a Vārtika for the above reasons: hence my inference that Kātyāyana was a southerner. The Professor is inclined to account for allusions to southern usage contained in the Mahābhāṣya from the fact that it was preserved in books in the South, i. e., probably, he thinks them interpolations. Are we similarly to think that the Mahābhāṣya was preserved in books and unfairly treated by the people of Surāṣṭra, by the Kambojas, and by the Prācyas and Madhyamas, because it contains allusions to their usage also[1]?

Inferiority in rank there is in Patañjali in comparison with Kātyāyana. It does not matter if Patañjali's views are adopted by Kaiyaṭa and others. They are so adopted because he was the last of the three Munis. When the three Munis differ, the rule for one's guidance is: Yathottaram munīnām prāmāṇyam: the later the Muni, the greater the authority. But still Pāṇini is always regarded as first in rank, Kātyāyana second, and Patañjali third.

I need not say anything on the few remaining points. Professor Weber has made one or two admissions, and as to the rest, I leave it to my readers to judge of the merits of the controversy. I reserve one point for discussion on some future occasion, especially as Professor Weber has not given prominence to it now. I do not believe that the Vākyapadīya and the Rājataraṅgiṇī afford evidence of the Mahābhāṣya having been tampered with by Candrācārya and others. They appear to me

1. See page 62, ed. by Ballantine.

to say that these persons promoted the study of grammar, brought the Mahābhāṣya into use, and wrote several works themselves.

In conclusion, I give Professor Weber my sincere thanks for the many good and encouraging words he has said about me. I am gratified to find that my criticisms have not offended him. Controversies on philological or literary points ought not to embitter the feelings of the disputants against each other, but unfortunately they very often do so. I am therefore particularly glad that our controversy is an exception to the general rule in this respect.

ĀCĀRYA, THE FRIEND OF THE STUDENT; AND THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE THREE ĀCĀRYAS.

[From the Indian Antiquary, 1876, Volume V, pp. 345 ff.]

When I closed my controversy with Prof. Weber on some points connected with the Mahābhāṣya, I said I reserved one question for discussion on a future occasion, and stated my belief that the Vākyapadīya and the Rājataraṅgiṇī did not afford evidence of the Mahābhāṣya having been tampered with by Candrācārya and others.[1] I am very glad so see that Prof. Kielhorn has taken up this question, and discussed it in a very able and thorough manner, in the last number of this Journal. I agree with all that he has said, though I should translate the passage in the Vākyapadīya somewhat differently, but as the differences are unimportant, and have no bearing on the main point, it is not necessary to state them.

There are, however, some points alluded to by Prof. Kielhorn on which I have been thinking for some time. He has shown that the word Ācārya occurring in the first 240 pages of the Benares edition of the Mahābhāṣya, when it is used to denote a specific individual, refers to Pāṇini or Kātyāyana, but never to Patañjali, except in one instance pointed out by Nāgojibhaṭṭa. Prof. Kielhorn expresses his doubts as regards the correctness of Nāgoji's remark, and I also think Nāgojibhaṭṭa is wrong. In a case of this kind, the great grammarian, who flourished only about a hundred and fifty years ago, can be no great authority if we can adduce cogent reasons for differing from him. And I believe there are such reasons in the present case. The passage in which the word occurs is this:—

1. Chap. I. p. 10a, Benares lith. ed. :—तेभ्य एवं विप्रतिपन्नबुद्धिभ्यो-ध्येतृभ्यः सुहृद्भूत्वाचार्य इदं शास्त्रमन्वाचष्टे । इमानि प्रयोजनान्यध्येयं व्याकरणमिति ।

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. II. p. 240 [equal to this Volume, p. 134—N.B.U.]

The expression आचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे occurs in several places in the Mahābhāṣya, in all of which we have to understand Kātyāyana by the term आचार्य. For instance :—

2. I. 4, p. 271, Benares lith. ed. :—तद्वेष्यं विजानीयात्सर्वमेतद्विकल्पत इति । तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे ह्रस्वौ चेयुवस्थानौ च प्रवृत्तौ च प्राक्च प्रवृत्तेः स्त्रीवचनावेवेति ।

3. II. 1. p. 316a :—तद्वेष्यं &c. as above ... तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे चादिभिर्योगे यथान्यासमेव भवतीति ।

4. II. 4. p. 401 :—तद्वेष्यं विजानीयादिदमा कथितमिदमेवानुकथ्यते इति । तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टेन्वादेशश्च कथितानुकथितमात्रमिति ।

5. III. 3. p. 93 :—तद्वेष्यं विजानीयादभिधेययोरिति । तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे कर्तृकर्मग्रहणं चोपपदसंज्ञार्थमिति ।

6. III. 3. p. 97a :—चोताप्योरिति ह्युच्यमाने संदेहः स्यात्प्राग्चोतापिभ्यां सहेति । तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे विभाषा गर्हाप्रभृती प्रागुतापिभ्यामिति ।

7. IV. 3. p. 76 :—तद्वेष्यं (as in 2 and 3)...तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे दिक्पूर्वपदादर्थायथान्यासमेव भवतीति ।

8. IV. 3. p. 86 :—तद्वेष्यं विजानीयाद्योगयोर्वा प्रत्ययर्योरेति । तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्ट एतयोरित्यर्थनिर्देश इति ।

9. V. 1. p. 12 :—तद्वेष्यं विजानीयाद्विशेषेणेत उत्तरं द्विविभ्यामिति तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे द्विविभ्यां द्वेयोग्यमिति ।

10. V. 1. p. 19 :—तद्वेष्यं विजानीयाद्द्वयमप्यनुवर्तत इति तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे वयसि ठंश्चेत्यनन्तरस्यानुकर्ष इति ।

11. V. 3. p. 55a :—तद्वेष्यं विजानीयात्तयोर्योगयोर्वा प्रत्ययर्योरेति । तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे तयोरिति प्रातिपदिकनिर्देश इति ।

Now we see that in all these instances, the sentence indicated by इति, which stands in the place of an object to the verb अन्वाचष्टे, is a Vārtika, for it is explained just before by Patañjali, as all

Vārtikas are.[1] Hence the expression आचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे refers unqestionably to Kātyāyana. Are we then to understand that in the first only out of these eleven passages it refers to Patañjali? Surely the evidence afforded by the other ten, occurring as they do in different parts of the Mahābhāṣya, is sufficient to warrant us in declaring that in No. 1 also the expression refers to Kātyāyana. The reason why Nāgojibhaṭṭa understands Patañjali by the term Ācārya here is this:—The author of the Mahābhāṣya tells us in his comments on the Vārtika 'Siddhe Śabdārtha' &c. that the word Siddha has been used at the beginning for the sake of Maṅgala, i. e., because it is an auspicious term, and such a term used at the beginning of a Śāstra conduces to the success of that Śāstra. The beginning, then, of the Śāstra composed by Kātyāyana, i. e. the first of his Vārtikas, is Siddhe Śabdārtha &c. If so, all that precedes this Vārtika, including the aphorisms in which the uses of grammar are given, is not the work of Kātyāyana. These aphorisms, therefore, are to be ascribed to Patañjali himself, and hence the Ācārya who sets forth the uses of grammar is the author of the Mahābhāṣya. To this it may be replied that these

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1. There is a mistake in the Benares Edition in the last passage. The Vārtika is not given separately from the Bhāṣya on it. It is, however, so given in an old MS. in my possession. In passage No. 3 Patañjali gives *the substance of the Vārtika and does not quote it. It is not necessary* to discuss at length the question how a Vārtika is to be distinguished. It is sufficient to state that one unfailing criterion is its being paraphrased or explained by Patañjali. Because (1) the very fact that it is so paraphrased shows that it must be the work of another person than the one who paraphrases it; (2) Patañjali himself incidentally mentions Kātyāyana as the author of some of these aphorisms, and calls him the Vārtikakāra (See I. 101a, III. 64a, III. 76a, &c.), while he speaks of the author generally as Ācārya, in connection with a great many others, without naming him; (3) Pāṇini's Sūtras are never so paraphrased, though they may form the subject of a long discussion; and (4) most of the aphorisms so paraphrased by Patañjali are expressly called Vārtikas by Kaiyaṭa and other grammarians. Very rarely the dicta of other Ācāryas are also paraphrased, but they are introduced by such an expression as अपर आह indicative of the authorship; while no such expression is used in introducing a Vārtika. Prof. Goldstücker does not seem to have called this criterion in question.

aphorisms are simply introductory, while the regular Śāstra begins with Siddhe Śabdārtha &c. The provision for Mañgala is therefore made in this, and not in the preceding ones, just as Pāṇini secures Mañgala in the first of his regular Sūtras, viz., Vṛddhirādaica and not in the Pratyāhāra-Sūtras. There is, therefore, no impropriety in ascribing thsse introductory aphorisms to Kātyāyana. And the whole manner in which they are stated and explained by Patañjali, and the evidence of the ten passages containing the expression आचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वा, &c., require that we should so a ascribe them to him.

If, then, Kātyāyana is the Ācārya alluded to in passage No. 1, this passage and the few lines that precede it enable us to determine the character, nature, and object of Kātyāyana's work. Patañjali tells us that in the times preceding his own, after a Brāhmaṇa boy's Upanayana ceremony was performed, grammar was the first thing taught to him, and the study of the Veda followed. In his (or rather Kātyāyana's) time, however, Veda was first taught, and after that was gone over, they said : "The Vedic words we have learnt from the Vedas, and the words current in popular usage we know from that usage. Grammar, therefore, is useless." For these students," we are told," whose feeling is thus opposed, the Ācārya (Kātyāyana) expounds the Śāstra,[1] (saying) 'These are the uses; grammar should be studied." In the comment on Siddhe śabdārtha, &c. we are also told, as remarked above, that Kātyāyana uses the word Siddha at the beginning, that it may augur well for the "great stream of the Śāstra." We thus see that what Kātyāyana proposes to himself is the composition or edition of a Śāstra, and to attract students to it he explains its uses. And it appears to me that the opening words

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1. Nāgojibhaṭṭa understands by the term Śāstra here "the explanation of the uses of grammar." But there is no reason to restrict the term thus. Besides, "the explanation of the uses of grammar" can with no propriety be called a Śāstra. Before and after, Patañjali uses the term in the sense of the whole science of grammar. Śāstra also properly signifies "a rule" It is, however, immaterial to the argument in the text in what sense we take it.

of the Mahābhāṣya : अथ शब्दानुशासनम् । are Kātyāyana's words, and form a Vārtika, notwithstanding what Kaiyaṭa says about them. For they are explained by Patañjali, just as all Vārtikas are ; and to suppose that this alone of similar aphorisms was composed by him, and commented on with all the formality of a scholiast, is, I think, unreasonable. There appears no reason why in this particular case Patañjali should have resorted to this plan. If he wanted to say that he now began the Śabdānuśāsanaśāstra, he might have done so more directly than by composing an aphorism and commenting on it.[1]

From the passages quoted above, it seems that the verb Anvācaṣṭe is used by Patañjali as characteristic of the work of Kātyāyana, as describing specifically what he did. His own work Patañjali calls Vyākhyāna, and frequently uses the verb Vyākhyāsyāmāḥ.[2] There is another word that is used in controversial writing, and occurs in the Mahābhāṣya, also, which is derived from the same root, viz. Pratyākhyāna. The differences in the senses of these words must be due to the prepositions or Upasargas that are used in each case. Pratyākhyāna is 'speaking *against* or refuting a thing ; Vyākhyāna is speaking *about* a thing, or *away, in varied ways, in detail,* of a thing, i. e., writing a commentary on it, and Anvākyāna must mean ' speaking in accordance with, agreeably to, or to the same purpose as a thing'. The word is used with reference to Kātyāyana in other forms in two other places, where it is contrasted with teaching something new.[3] If, then, it properly denotes what Kātyāyana did mostly, if not altogether, with reference to Pāṇini's Sūtras, his work must be *in accordance,*

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1. It is only modern authors that say that the Vārtikas begin with Siddhe śabdārtha, &c,

2. Mahābhāṣya, I. p. 13a, I. p. 42, I. p. 49, III. 67a, and many other places.

3. I. p. 22a & b. -प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायते। आहोस्वित्संवृउपदेशश्चोद्यते। III. p. 58a, एवं तर्ह्यन्वाचष्टेनुपसर्ग इत्येवं वर्तत इति। नैतदन्वाख्येयमधिकारा अनुवर्तन्त इति । एष एव न्यायोयद्धुताधिकारा अनुवर्तेरन्निति ।

in keeping, in harmony with, Paṇini's, i. e. explain, develope, or support the latter. That the word 'Anvākhyāna' is peculiarly applicable to Kātyāyana's work is also cofirmed by the fact that this is called Anutantra in the Vākyapadīya.[1] For these reasons it is clear that Kātyāyana's object in composing his work was to *teach* grammar, first, by developing and explaining Pāṇini, and then supplementing him, and not "to find fault with him," as the late Prof. Goldstücker thought. The Vyākhyāna of the work of this author directly, and that of Pāṇini indirectly, was what Patañjali proposed to himself. He himself explains what the duties of one who undertakes this task are. "Not only," says he, "does the division of a Sūtra into the individual words which compose it constitute Vyākhyāna, but example, counter-example, and the words to be understood or supplied, all these taken together make up Vyākhyāna."[2] To explain the Vārtikas thus in detail, to discuss the Sūtras, and occasionly to give supplementary rules (Iṣṭis) where necessary, was Patañjali's main object, and not to refute Kātyāyana.

Now, if we look into the Mahābhāṣya, we shall find this view of the relations of the three Munis amply confirmed. In fact, the instances in which there is no refutation of one by another, but simply an explanation of the words, or the bearing of the words, of the earlier sage by the later one, are so many that it is difficult to see how any other view can be maintained. Not to go very far for the present, none of the eleven passages quoted above contains or is followed by a refutation, while they all give some expla-

1. Prof. Kielhorn's article, Ind. Ant., Vol. V. p. 247, notes.

2. न केवलानि चर्चापदानि व्याख्यानं वृद्धिः आत् ऐजिति । किं तर्हि । उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याध्याहार इत्येतत्समुदितं व्याख्यानं भवति । I. p. 18a. By the way, this passage justifies those who ascribe the examples contained in the Māhābhāṣya to Patañjali, and draw historical inferences from them with regard to his age and other matters. For we are here told that it is the business of the author of Vyākhyāna to give examples. There is little reason, then, to suppose that the examples were handed down from the time of Pāṇini to Kātyāyana.

nation. No. 1 explains why Kâtyâyana gives the uses of grammar; in No. 2 Kātyāyana is spoken of as making a rule calculated to restrict the operation of another laid down by himself. In the Vārtika in No. 3, Kātyāyana tells us that another Vārtika of his which is likely to supersede Pāṇini VIII. 1. 24, ought not to do so; in the one in No. 4 he explains the word Anvādeśa used in Pāṇini II. 4. 32; in that in No. 5 he tells us in what relation the words Kartṛ and Karman occuring in Pāṇini III. 3. 127 are to be taken; in the one in No. 6 he explains Pāṇini III. 3. 141, and clears a doubt that naturally arises; in that in No. 7 he says that a Vārtika of his should not supersede Pāṇini IV. 3. 6; in the one in No. 8 he explains the word Etayoḥ occuring in Pāṇini IV. 3. 143; in that in No. 9 he tells us that the words Dvi and Tri occuring in Paṇini V. 1. 30 are to be taken on to the next Sūtra only, i. e., they apply to these two Sūtras alone; in that in No. 10, that the termination given in the last Sūtra is to be brought on to this, and not the one in the previous Sūtra; and in No. 11 the Vārtika explains to what the pronoun Etayoḥ occurring in V. 3. 20 refers.

But let us examine the Bhāṣya more closely. In the Vārtikas on I. 2. 1, Kātyāyana explains that what Pāṇini means by saying that certain terminations are ङित् and कित is, that before those terminations, those rules are to be applied to the preceding roots that are laid down with reference to such terminations as have actually got an indicatory ङ or क् in them,- i. e. Pāṇini attributes the properties ङित्त्व or कित्त्व to those terminations, though they have not got ङ् or क् in them. Before coming to this conclusion, however, the author of the Vārtikas refutes three other ways of taking this and the following Sūtras that may be suggested. Kātyāyana then gives reasons why कित्त्व is attributed to some terminations, and ङित्त्व to others, and why one same property कित्त्व or ङित्त्व is not mentioned with regard to all. In all this Patañjali confines himself to a detailed explanation of the Vārtikas, and there is no refutation of any one of them.

On 1. 4. 14, there is only one Vārtika in which Kātyāyana explains why the word Anta is used in the Sūtra, and infers that in

other Sūtras in which technical terms are defined, those terms signify only the terminations that may have been mentioned, and not the words ending with those terminations, — i. e. for instance Gha signifies only the terminations Tara and Tama, and not Gaurītara or Gaurītama. Patañjali does not make any adverse remark, but explains the Vārtika. On III. ii. 134, Kātyāyana remarks that the last termination Ac must be stated generally as applicable to all roots, because there are such forms as Bhava and Sava. Why, then, does Pāṇini lay down the Gaṇa, Pac and others, and teach the addition of the termination to those roots? Kātyāyana himself tells us, it is because in this way he may be able to add some indicatory letter or Anubandhas to some of the roots, and to prevent the application of special rules to others. On the next Sūtra the author of the Vartikas remarks that the termination Ka should be taught as applicable to the roots indicated in the Sūtra, only when they have a preposition prefixed; for when without a preposition, the roots have forms made up by the addition of another, which necessitates the change of the vowel to its Guṇa. Then he himself answers this by saying, "No, it should not be so taught, because we have such forms as Budha and others," i.e., forms made up by the addition of Ka. On III. 2, 123, the first two Vārtikas require that the use of the present tense (Bhavanti) should be taught in cases which the Sutra is supposed not to include; in the last three, we are told that the Sūtra does extend to these cases also, and reasons are given to show how it does. Patañjali has no adverse remark.

In all these instances, Kātyāyana simply gives an Anvākhyāna or explanation of the Sūtras, and Patañjali agrees with him; and such instances may be multiplied to any extent. Of course, it is not to be denied that often there are adverse criticisms on Pāṇini, and that Patañjali defends him and refutes Kātyāyana, i.e., makes Pratyākhyāna as well as Vyākhyāna of the Vārtikas. But Patañjali not seldom refutes Pāṇini also, i.e. makes Pratyākhyāna of the Sūtras, the expression अयं योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम् । occuring pretty often. On the other hand, he often says with regard to the Vārtikas, तस्मात्सूत्रं कर्तव्यम्, &c. To show the nature of the Great

Commentary generally as regards this subject, I will here give a short analysis of a portion of the Bhāṣya on the Aṅgādhikāra in the order in which the Sūtras occur there, not here selecting my instances.

1. अङ्गस्य VI. 4. 1. Kātyāyana settles the meaning of the gen. अङ्गस्य; Patañjali does not refute. Kātyāyana gives the objects of the Aṅgādhikāra, and says that that they may be attained otherwise than by having such an Adhikāra. Patañjali agrees while Kaiyaṭa re-establishes that Adhikāra.

2. In हलः VI. 4. 2, Kātyāyana raises an objection and answers it. Patañjali accepts this explanation, but proposes also another.

3. In नामि VI. 4. 3, Kātyāyana justifies the use of नामि for आमि; Patañjali does not refute.

4. इन्हन्पूषा &c. VI. 4. 12. Kātyāyana in the Vārtikas explains this Sūtra in a manner to avoid the lengthening of the penultimate vowel of वृत्रहन् necessitated by the Śutra अनुनासिक &c. VI. 4. 15.

5. अत्वसन्त &c. VI. 4. 14. Kātyāyana finds fault; Patañjali agrees.

6. अज्झन &c. VI. 4. 16. Katyāyana finds fault, not explicitly but tacitly. Patañjali avoids the objection by re-arranging the Sūtra. A Vārtika on another point is refuted by Patañjali.

7. च्छ्वोः शूठ् &c. VI. 4. 19. Kātyāyana shows that if कित् comes down to this Sūtra, छ must be inserted in the Sūtra व्रश्चभ्रस्ज &c., VIII. 2. 36, and it must have तुक्, i. e. त्, prefixed to it. This is done in that Sūtra. The Vārtikas therefore explain that कित् does come down. Patañjali does not refute.

8. असिद्धवद् &c. VI. 4. 22. Kātyāyana refers to his explanation of the objects of considering a grammatical operation to be असिद्ध given under VI. 1. 86, explains the sense of अत्र, and gives the objects of the आभाद्धिकार. These last, Patañjali shows, may be attained in other ways, and thus makes प्रत्याख्यान of them. Then objections to this Adhikāra are raised by Kātyāyana, and answered by Patañjali

explaining अत्र as equivalent to समानाश्रयत्व. Then follows a Vārtika stating cases in which, when we take this Adhikāra to extend to the beginning of Bhādhikāra, we arrive at incorrect forms; and another giving other cases when the same result ensues, if we take it to extend to the end of that Adhikāra. Patañjali refutes these Vārtikas by showing that the correct forms are arrived at, whether we take the one or the other as the limit of the Adhikāra.

9. श्नान &c. VI. 4. 23. No Vārtikas.

10. अनिदितां &c. VI. 4. 24. There are five supplementary or corrective Vārtikas, two of which are refuted by Patañjali.

11. शास इद् &c. VI. 4. 34. The Vārtika is refuted by re-casting the Sūtra.

12. अनुदात्तो &c. VI. 4. 37. VI. 4. 38, as it is, would lead to wrong forms. Kātyāyana therefore proposes to re-cast these two; Patañjali does not object.

13. गमः क्वौ, &c. VI. 4. 40. Two supplementary Vārtikas; neither refuted by Patañjali.

14. जनसन &c. VI. 4. 42. Patañjali discusses the connection of झल्, and in the end divides the Sūtra into two, so as to render the use of झल् unnecessary. Then follows an explanatory Vārtika, which is discussed and defended by Patañjali at great length.

15. सनः क्तिचि, VI. 4. 45. Patañjali says the word अन्यतरस्यां might well have been omitted in this Sūtra, as unnecessary. "Another" says that even the word लोप् might be omitted. There is no Vārtika.

16. आर्धधातुके VI. 4. 46. A Kārikā, very likely by Patañjali himself, gives the purposes of this Adhikāra; and they are discussed in detail afterwards. No Vārtikas.

17. भ्रस्जोरोप VI. 4. 47. Some explanation by Patañjali. Then follow three Vārtikas on a certain point, which are refuted by Patañjali.

18. अतो लोपः VI. 4. 48. Vārtika refuted by taking पर as equivalent to इष्ट.

19. यस्य हल: VI. 4. 49. Kātyāyana gives undesirable effects of taking य as two letters Y and A, and of taking it as Y only. Patañjali says one may take it either way; and the faults pointed out by Kātyāyana are explained away.

20. जेरनिटि VI. 4. 51. Patañjali decides that the word अनिटि in this Sūtra is unnecessary, and explains the next Sūtra in a manner to avoid the objections that may arise. He also recasts VI. 4. 55. There is no Vārtika.

21. निष्ठायां सेटि VI. 4. 52. Kātyāyana discusses, and explains the reason of using the word सेटि here. Patañjali says this word, and even the whole Sūtra, might be omitted, and recasts VII. 2. 26, in a manner to include the sense of this. A Vārtika follows, which is refuted.

22. अयामन्ता &c. VI. 4. 55. There are three Vārtikas showing what rules should be laid down if we should have त्नु as an Uṇādi termination, and what if इत्नु. These last are actually laid down by Pāṇini, says Patañjali.

23. ल्यपि लघु &c. VI. 4. 56. Kātyāyana brings objections to the reading लघुपूर्वस्य, and settles that it should be लघुपूर्वात्; Patañjali does not object.

24. विभाषापः VI. 4. 57. आप् should have its indicatory sign ल here, observes Kātyāyana, to prevent the application of this rule to अध्यापि. Patañjali applies the Paribhāṣā लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्त &c. and refutes the Vārtika.

25. स्यसिच् &c. VI. 4. 62. Patañjali discusses at great length the relations of the words भावकर्मणोः, इट्, and चिण्वत्. Then, in a Kārikā which must be attributed to him, are set forth the purposes of attributing चिण्वद्भाव to these terminations after these roots. This is followed by Vārtikas, in the first of which the reason for the use of the word उपदेश is given, and in the second we are told that चिण्वद्भाव prevails over the Sūtra which lays down वध् as a substitute for हन्, in the precative. The next two provide that the substitutes for हन्, इ to go, and इ to study, which are used before चिण् in the aroist, should not be used here. This, we are

told, follows from the context of this Sūtra. No adverse remarks from Patañjali.

We thus see (1) that Kātyāyana explains and supports the Sūtras, sometimes by raising questions about them and answering them, sometimes without resorting to this procedure; (2) that he amends them, and thus must be understood to criticize them, or find fault with them; and (3) that he supplements them. Patañjali (1) comments on the Vārtikas in accordance with his own definition of Vyākhyāna; (2) agrees with Kātyāyana; (3) refutes him; (4) recasts Pāṇini's Sūtras; (5) affirms that they, or a word or words in them, are not wanted, even in cases when Kātyāyana justifies them or defends Pāṇini; (6) discusses and explains Sūtras or words in them, notwithstanding that there is no Vārtika; and (7) gives supplementary rules called Iṣṭis, which, however, occur very rarely, very little being left for him to do in this respect, by predecessors. It will thus appear that in writing the Vārtikas, Kātyāyana *did* "mean to justify and to defend the rules of Pāṇini" also, and that a Vārtika is often "a commentary which explains;" and that the Mahābhāṣya contains such varied matter, arguments of such length, so consistent, so well connected, and so subtle, that it by no means deserves the title of "a skilful compilation of the views of Pāṇini's critics and of their refutation by Patañjali;" or of a "mere refutation of Kātyāyana;" or of "a synopsis of arguments for and against the details of Pāṇini's system, or a controversial manual." The only tenable theory is that Kātyāyana's work is an edition of Pāṇini with notes, explanatory, critical, and supplementary; and that Patañjali's is a commentary on this edition, explaining in detail the notes of Kātyāyana, but discussing at length all points connected with the system of Pāṇini and with grammar generally, whether Kātyāyana notices them or not, in a manner favourable or otherwise to his author. The object of both was the same, viz., to teach grammar by following and explaining the system of Pāṇini, endeavouring to perfect it, even though this sometimes required a remodelling of his Sūtras or their entire refutation, and to complete it by supplying the omissions and bringing up the knowledge of Sanskrit grammar conveyed therein to their own times.

THE MAURYA-PASSAGE IN THE MAHĀBHĀṢYA

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, 1887, P. 156 ff.]

In the first number of the new Vienna Oriental Journal, just received, there is an article by my honoured friend, Dr. Kielhorn, in which he brings forward some objections against the interpretation of the Maurya-passage in the Mahābhāṣya given by other scholars. As I am one of these last, and as Dr. Kielhorn invites criticism on his observations by saying he would " be glad to be corrected by others, " and that his reason for writing on the subject is " to give others an opportunity of removing his difficulties, " I will here endeavour, to the best of my ability, to answer the difficulties raised by him.

The first expression, to the translation of which my friend objects, is Yās tv Etāḥ. His objections in this, as well as in the other cases, are based on the supposition that the translations already given are opposed to the sense that the several expressions have in other parts of the Mahābhāṣya ; and it will be my duty to show that my translation, at least, is not so opposed. Dr. Kielhorn says that (excepting, so for as his observation goes, a single passage) the pronoun Etad in such expressions as Ya eṣaḥ, Yad etad, Ya ete, &c., does not refer to something stated before ; but expresses a thing well-known, a thing to be met with generally in ordinary life. That it has the sense mentioned by him in the instances he quotes, is unquestionable. But this sense it derives from the fact that primarily, it means ' this ; ' i. e. it denotes ' proximity. ' Now, the world in which a man moves and with which he is intimately acquainted, is from that point of view regarded by him as being ' near; ' i. e. having proximity. Hence, everybody in that world is spoken of as 'this' ; (1) but this is not the only way in which things come to have nearness or proximity. They may become near because hey are actually before one ; or, in the case of a writer, (2)

because he has just mentioned them, or (3) is going to mention them. Dr. Kielhorn has given instances from the Mahâbhâṣya, in which Etad with Yad has the first sense. I will give others in which it has the two other senses. Two of my instances have Idam for Tad; which, however, makes no difference whatever.

a. Vol. I. p. 10, l. 1: Ye cāpy ete bhavato prayuktā abhimatāḥ śabdā &c. The words alluded to here have been given by Patañjali before, at the beginning of the argument.

b. Vol. I. p. 31, last line. Ya eṣa bhavatā varṇānām arthavattāyāṁ hetur upadiṣṭô'rthavanto varṇā, &c. This Hetu has been given before and is here repeated.

c. Vol. II. p. 86, l. 3. Ya ete saṁjñāyāṁ vidhīyante teṣu &c. These have been mentioned just before.

d. Vol. II. p. 19, l. 19. Yad etat tṛntracor grahaṇam &c. The Sūtra in which the affixes here spoken of occur, has been quoted just before.

e. Vol. II. p. 326, l. 19. Na vaiṣa yukto vipratiṣedho yo'yam año mayaṭaś ca. The Vipratiṣedha has been given in the last but one Vārttika.

f. Vol. III. p. 238, l. 9. Yat tv idaṁ Vārttikakāraḥ paṭhati &c. What is referred to by Idam has been mentioned before, and is here repeated.

Vol. II. p. 139, l. 19. Vepi hy ete'ta uttaraṁ pratyayāḥ śiṣyanta &c. Ete refers to the terminations that follow.

Here there are five instances in which Etad with Yad, and two in which Idam with Yad, denote 'proximity' to the passage in which they occur. In six of these cases, the pronoun refers to things mentioned before; and in one, to things mentioned afterwards. And I dare say a good many more instances will be found, if a diligent search is made for them. I do not see why Patañjali should not, in the nature of things, use Etad to denote this sort of proximity, and restrict himself to that conceived to exist in things well-known to us. And the expression, or its

several senses, are by no means peculiar to Patañjali, but are to be found in the language itself. The following instances occur to me at the present moment; and doubtless a long list can be made out if necessary :—

Yeyaṁ prete vicikitsā manuṣye,—Kaṭha-Upaniṣad (3 or 1)

Ya eṣa supteṣu jāgarti &c.—Ibid (1)

Yoyam yogas tvayā proktaḥ,—Bhagavadgītā, Ch. 6, v. 33. (2)

Yad etad anumaraṇaṁ nāma tad atiniṣphalam,—Kādambarī (1)

Yoyaṁ baddho yudhi parikaras tena vo &c.—Uttara-Rama-carita—Act. V. (2)

Yenānena jagatsu Khaṇḍaparaśur, &c.—Vīracarita Act II. (2).

Yaḥ punar ayam ante'paro vikalpa &c. Śaṁkara-Bhāṣya, Vol. I. (Bibl. Ind.) p. 434, l. 2. (2)

So that it does not appear to me that there is anything peculiar to Patañjali in this respect. He has used the expression under notice in those senses in which it is used elsewhere. Thus : Yās tv etāḥ : in the Maurya passage, may, if the context require it, be taken to refer to some of the images already mentioned.

Now as to the word Saṁprati. Purākalpa means 'ancient time,' a time so remote that nobody has a definite conception of it, and Adyatve, as opposed to it, signifies 'modern times.' But this is not the sense we require in the present passage, according to my translation. For the Maurya family became extinct only about thirty-five years before Patañjali wrote, according to Prof. Goldstücker's view and mine; and consequently the time when it reigned cannot be spoken of as Purākalpa. The word Saṁprati denotes 'now', as opposed to a past time which is definite and not very remote; and this is exactly the sense required in the passage under discussion. Dr. Kielhorn, however, is led to think, from some of the instances quoted by him, that the past time, implied by the present which the word Saṁprati denotes, must refer to the same thing as that

the present condition of which is expressed by that word. But this is by no means necessary. For Nivâsa (Vol. II. p. 314, l. 7) is spoken of by Patañjali as the place where one lives now; while Abhijana is the place where his ancestors lived. Here the past time implied by the word Saṁprati or 'now,' is not the past of the man whose present Nivâsa is spoken of; but refers to his ancestors. And even the sense attached to the word by Dr. Kielhorn does not go entirely against my interpretation of the passage. We shall only have to suppose that the images now under worship were the same as those sold by the Mauryas, and not like them, or belonging to the same class with them. But this view I have rejected, after considerable deliberation.

The third expression the sense of which Dr. Kielhorn discusses, is Prakalpitāḥ. He thinks that Prakalpayati means 'to fashion or make one thing out of another,' 'to produce a thing which did not exist before out of something else;' and that it is equivalent to Nirvartayati. I feel no hesitation in saying that this sense does not appear to me to be at all appropriate, whether in the Mahābhāṣya or elsewhere. In the expressions in which the genitive is spoken of as Prakalpita, is the genitive really produced? In grammar we speak of the Utpatti or production of a termination, when it is applied to a base which did not possess it before, as the accusative is Utpanna after the noun Kaṭa and the termination kta after the root kṛ (Vol. I. p. 441, ll. 3, 4). Is the genitive so produced here and, if it is, why should Patañjali never use in the innumerable places where the phrase occurs, the word Utpādayati, as he does in these cases, or Nirvartayati, instead of Prakalpayati? And how are we to translate the phrase: Anusvāraḥ sthānī yaṇam anunāsikaṁ prakalpayati (Vol. I. p. 16)? that an original Anusvāra produces a Yaṇ to be Anunāsika? How can we produce a thing such as a pot to be red? The word produce or Utpatti is out of place here; we can only say that an additional quality Anunāsikatva is given to an existing thing Yaṇ. Again, when Patañjali says that the general rule operates after having Prakalpita the scope of the special rule (Vol.

I. p. 463, l. 2; Vol. II. p. 127, l. 5), does he mean "after having produced the scope of the special rule?" Is not "after having devised, arranged, or assigned scope to the special rule," the proper translation? And, using the root in its primitive or non-causal from, when Patañjali says: Vyapadeśo na prakalpate Vol. I. p. 61, l. 21), does he mean "the appellation or description is not produced"? Is not "the description does not fit," the proper sense here?" When he says: Sāmānyaviśeṣau na prakalpete: if what is general may become particular, and what is particular, general, he does not mean that Sāmānya and Viśeṣa are not 'produced,' but that they do not "fit each other" the relation 'does not hold,' 'is not intelligible,' 'not proper'; (Vol. I. p. 172, l. 3). Avakāśaḥ praklptaḥ (Vol. II. p. 297, l. 14) means the scope of the rules alluded to has been 'devised,' 'arranged' or 'determined,' not 'produced.' So also when Ṅigrahaṇam is said to be Śeṣapraklptyartham (Vol. III. p. 159, l. 1), the sense cannot be that Ṅī is used in VI.3.43 for producing Śeṣa; for Śeṣa is not to be produced or transformed. The word occurs in the very next Sūtra; and being a relative term equivalent to, remainder' or 'residue,' it can have no sense if Ṅī, with reference to which it is the residue, is not admitted in VI. 3. 43. So then Śeṣapraklptyartham means 'for making Śeṣa fit in with, answer to, or correspond with something else,' for giving an intelligible sense to the word. Again, if Patañjali meant by Prakalpayati the same thing as Nirvartayati, why does he, fond as he is of the former word, not use it when he has occasion to speak of the production of a Ghaṭa or a Kaṭa, or of Odana, but use Nirvartayati or Karoti only? Thus he speaks of the Nirvṛtti of things which are made, not Praklpti; makes a man say to a potter Kuru ghaṭam, not Pra kalpaya ghaṭam (Vol. I. p. 7, ll. 2 and 3 from bottom), uses the expressions Odanaṁ nirvartayati, not Odanam prakalpayati (Vol. I. p. 332, l. 18), and Kaṭaṁ karoti, Kaṭaṁ kuru, Ghaṭaṁ kuru several times (Vol. I. pp. 440 and 441; Vol. III. p. 56, l. 8) and not Kaṭaṁ prakalpayati, &c. &c.

The central idea expressed by the root $\sqrt{Klp}$ is that of a plan, system, arrangement, device, mutual fitness or consistency. The genitive is Prakalpita by the ablative in the place of the nominative in virtue of Pāṇini's rule: Tasmād ity uttarasya · i.e., it is devised, arranged for, led to by a logical necessity or conditions of propriety, and has thus to be understood. The original Anusvāro yaṇam anunāsikaṁ prakalpayati, i.e., 'devises or arranges that the Yaṇ which takes its place should be nasal.' The Anusvāra is a reason why the substituted Yaṇ should be nasalized. The general rule devises, arranges or plans out the scope of the special rule from the whole available region, and then operates (in the part that remains). Similarly in all the other instances given above, it will be seen that fitness, propriety, devising or planning is the sense involved. It will also be observed that that which is spoken of as the Prakalpaka is, or involves, a reason or a principle which justifies, explains, or determines something else, and makes the Prakalpaka fit in with or answer to the Prakalpita; while that which is Nirvartaka produces a thing that did not exist before, and possesses voluntary agency only. Thus then, in the passage under discussion, the images were devised, fitted, or made to answer by the Mauryas who wanted gold, i.e., to answer or fit in with their desire for gold, just as Śeṣa answers to or fits in with Ṅī in VI. 3. 43, or Viśeṣa with Sāmānya, or the Vyapadeśa (description or appellation) with the nature of the thing alluded to; the genitive with the previous ablative or the following locative, the Anunāsikatva with the Anusvāra and the province of the general rule with that of the special rule. In other words, they were used as means fit for the end, the attainment of gold.

A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON THE MAURYA-PASSAGE IN THE MAHĀBHĀṢYA.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume XVI, 1887, p. 172 f.]

In connection with my previous note on the Maurya-Passage in the Mahābhāṣya, at page 156ff. above,[1] I find that I have three more passages to quote, of the use of Etad or Idam with Yad ; and it also appears to me desirable to put on record the full original passage,[2] which is the subject of discussion, in order that the readers of this Journal may have it for easy reference in understanding the point that is at issue.

The original passage, which is Patañjali's comment on Pāṇini V. 3. 99, runs :—

Apaṇya ity ucyate tatredaṁ na sidhyati Śivaḥ Skando Viśākha iti । Kiṁ kāraṇam । Mauryair hiraṇyārthibhir archāḥ prakalpitāḥ । Bhavet tāsu na syād । Yās tv etāḥ saṁprati pūjārthās tāsu bhaviṣyati ।

And the following are my additional instances in which Etad or Idam, with Yad, refers to things occurring before or to be mentioned afterwards :—

Vol. II. p. 111, l. 18. Ye'py eta ita uttaraṁ pratyayāḥ śiṣanta &c.

Vol. III. p. 277, l. 7. Ayukto'yaṁ vipratiṣedho yo'yaṁ guṇasyettvottvayoś ca.

Vol. III. p. 385, l. 2. Yeyaṁ sapādasaptādhyāyyanukrāntaitasyām ayam &c.

I have stated in my previous note that I have rejected, after considerable deliberation, the view that the images spoken of in

1. That is the Indian Antiquary Volume XVI, 1887. N. B. U.

2. Equal to this Volume, p. 148ff above].—N. B. U.

the passage as under worship now, were the same as those sold by the Mauryas. As, however, the revered Dr. Böhtlingk seems, if I understand him right, to favour that view in his 'Ein Versuch zur Beilegung,' &c., I must give my reasons. They are these:—If the images, Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha, were the same as those sold or "introduced" by the Mauryas, Patañjali would have indicated the same by some expression in the sentence Mauryair hiraṇyārthibhir, &c. The pronoun Tāsu in the next sentence, and Etāḥ in the one that follows it, will both have to be taken as referring to the same images. The same images cannot be spoken of as 'those' and 'these'; and to remove this inconsistency, we shall have to understand Tāsu as equivalent to Tadānīm so as to bring out the sense, that the rule about the dropping of Ka was not applicable to these images at the time when they were sold or introduced by the Mauryas. But the demonstrative Tad cannot by itself be so understood. According to Dr. Böhtlingk's way of looking at the matter, the passage has no grammatical point at all, the object of Patañjali being simply to cast a reflection on the Mauryas. This is not proper. Patañjali always makes out a grammatical point; and the point made out according to the view under discussion, as it appeared to me when I rejected it, is, that, in framing the names of idols under worship, we have not to look to the fact that they were sold before they were used for worship. But this point is almost evident, and is more appropriately made out, if necessary, by speaking of ordinary manufacturers as selling images which are afterwards used for worship. The point according to the view which I have accepted, is this;—Paṇya has two senses, "something that has the possibility of being sold" and "something that is exposed for sale." The idols, Śiva, &c., which are under worship now possess the possibility of being sold, because idols under worship were sold by the Mauryas. But, though they possess the possibility of being sold, they are not actually exposed for sale. Pāṇini's rule applies to idols of the latter description, and not of the former. The distinction between the two senses of

the word Paṇya and its grammatical effect, cannot be illustrated except by taking instances of the sale of idols under actual worship; and since ordinary manufacturers do not do that, Patañjali, knowing that the Mauryas had done it, makes use of the fact for the purposes of his grammatical exposition. The word Etāḥ is not superfluous in my translation as Dr. Böhtlingk thinks; for, it is used for pointing out the idols under discussion, Śiva, Skanda, Viśākha, as contrasted with the idols sold by the Mauryas. All this I have explained at length in my Second Reply to Dr. Peterson on the Date of Patañjali;[1] and especially in my Sanskrit comment on the passage. It will be seen that, even according to my view, the passage shows that Patañjali flourished but a short time after the Mauryas. For he remembers rather an unimportant incident with regard to the princes of that dynasty; and the word Saṁprati, as I have already observed, indicates 'present time' as contrasted, not with a remote past time—Adyatve is the word which has that sense—but with a past time fairly near to the person who uses the word.

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1. It is printed later in this Volume.—[N. B. U.

THE DATE OF PATAÑJALI, No. I: BEING THE FIRST REPLY TO PROFESSOR PETERSON.

[FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, VOLUME XVI, 1885, P. 199 FF].

The Paper was read before the Society on May 1st, 1885.

THE late Professor Goldstücker,[1] from the examination of a passage occurring in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, or the great commentary on Kātyāyana's Vārtikas, i. e., short critical dicta on Pāṇini's Grammatical Sūtras, arrived at the conclusion that the author of the great commentary lived in the middle of the second century before Christ. From another passage, the evidence afforded by which is totally of a different kind, I arrived, more than twelve years ago, at precisely the same conclusion. Two other passages in the work and everything else of a historical nature occurring in it harmonize with our conclusion; and it has now been accepted by a good many scholars. Professor Peterson[1] of Elphinstone College has recently called it in question, and is inclined to refer Patañjali to the time of Skandagupta of the Gupta Dynasty who was reigning in 146 of the Gupta Era[2]. This date corresponds, according to what I consider to be unimpeachable evidence as regards the initial date of the Gupta Era, to 465 A. D., but according to others it corresponds to 336 A. D. and 313 A. D. Professor Peterson asserts that "recent speculation" has been "slowly but surely" referring Patañjali to this date. One of the references he gives in support of this assertion is to the following statement of I-tsing, the Chinese pilgrim, given by Professor Max Müller in his Note on the Renaissance[3]: "There is

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1. In the article on "The Aucityālaṁkāra of Kṣemendra, with a note on the Date of Patañjali" read by Prof. Peterson before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 6th of March 1885, and published in the Journal of that Society, Volume XVI, 1885, pp. 167ff. The note on the Date of Patañjali appears at pp. 181 ff.—[N. B. U.]

2. General Cunningham's Arch. Report, Vol. XII. p. 38.

3. The Note on the Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature was omitted from the subsequent editions of that work, as also from the Collected Edition of Max Müller's Works. [N. B. U.]

a commentary on it (the Vṛtti Sūtra, i. e. the Kāśikā Vṛtti), entitled Cūrṇi, containing 24,000 Ślokas ; it is a work of the learned Patañjali." To speak of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya as a commentary on the Kāśikā is to speak something that is absurd. The author of the Kāśikā himself tells us that his work is based, among other works, on the Bhāṣya, which can be no other than the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, and there is internal evidence at every step to show that it is based on that work. And there can be no question whatever that the Mahābhāṣya is not a commetary on the Kāśikā. The absurdity of the statement is also patent from what I-tsing himself states with regard to the dates of the several grammarians. Jayāditya, the authoi of the Vṛtti Sūtra, i. e., the Kāśikā, according to Professor Max Müller, died thirty years before I-tsing wrote, or about 660 A. D., while Bhartṛhari, the author of a commentary on the Mahābhāṣya, died forty years before, or about 650 A. D., so that the author of the Kāśikā died ten years after the author of a commentary on a commentary on his own work ; that is, he was so fortunate as to have these two large and very learned works, written in elucidation of his own during his own lifetime by men who died before him. And yet this is the evidence that, according to Professor Peterson is " slowly but surely " referring Patañjali to a date much later than that assigned to him by Professor Goldstücker and myself. When I-tsing speaks of Patañjali's work as a commentary on the Vṛtti Sūtra and of Jayāditya as the author of the Vṛtti Sūtra, he is confounding the Vārtika Sūtras of Kātyāyana with the Kāśikā or some work of Jayāditya, or has been mis-understood and mis-translated.

Professor Peterson's other reference is to the verses quoted as from Pāṇini in the several anthologies noticed by him in his Reports on the Search for Manuscripts during the last two years. These verses are precisely similar in character to those to which dates between 600 and 1,000 A. D. have been assigned ; and herefore he says, " it is impossible to admit a gap of a thousand years between them." He therefore brings Pāṇini down to about .

that period. He does not deny the possibility of there being two Pāṇinis. But he thinks "there is no evidence for such a supposition." If the similarity between the verses attributed to Pāṇini and others is a sufficient reason for referring both to the same period, ought not the utter dissimilarity between them and the language of the Sūtras, as well as the great difference between the Sanskrit the rules of which the Sūtras give and the Sanskrit of the verses, to be considered a reason sufficiently urgent for assigning to the Sūtras a period separated by a long interval from that in which the verses were written? If the argument based on the similarity is valid, that based on the dissimilarity is equally so; and as I proceed, I shall show that the latter is so powerful, and there are so many circumstances which harmonize only with the conclusion deducible from it, that the only option left to us is to suppose that the Pāṇini of the verses was altogether a different man from the Great Grammarian. It does not advance the cause of research to forget the points clearly made out by Goldstücker more than twenty years ago. A substance of his arguments and my expansion of them I have given in my Early History of the Deccan, and since the matter is of importance in the present discussion I quote it here:—[1]

"Professor Goldstücker has shown from an examination of the Vārtikas, that certain grammatical forms are not noticed by Pāṇini but are taught by Kātyāyana, and concludes that they did not exist in the language in Pāṇini's time. I have followed up the argument in my lectures[2] "On the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages," and given from the Vārtikas several ordinary instances of such forms. From these one of two conclusions only is possible, viz., either that Pāṇini was a very careless and ignorant grammarian, or that the forms did not exist in the language in his time. The first is of course inadmissible, where-

1. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Collected Works, Valume III, p. 14f. [N.B.U.]

2. Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit &c., Edition of 1914, p. 281. [N. B. U.]

fore the second must be accepted. I have also shown from a passage in the introduction to Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, that verbal forms such as those of the Perfect which are taught by Pāṇini as found in the Bhāṣā or current language, not the Chāndasa or obsolete language, had gone out of use in the time of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, and participles had come to be used instead. Professor Goldstücker has also given a list of words used by Pāṇini in his Sūtras in a sense which became obsolete in the time of Kātyāyana and has shown what portion of Sanskrit Literature did not probably exist in Pāṇini's time but was known to Kātyāyana, and in one case comes to the not unjustifible conclusion that the time that had elapsed between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana was so great that certain literary works which either did not exist in Pāṇini's time or were not old to him came to be considered by Kātyāyana to be as old as those which were old to Pāṇini."

To this I may now add, what I showed in the Preface to my Second Book of Sanskrit[1] seventeen years ago, that according to Pāṇini's rules the Aorist expresses (1) past time generally, or the simple completion of an action, (2) the past time of this day and not previous to this day and (3) recent past time ; and thus resembles in every respect the English Present Perfect. But in the later language the distinction between that tense and the other two past tenses is set aside and the Aorist is used exactly like these. Now, the language of the verses ascribed to Pāṇini and generally the language of what Professor Max Müller calls the Renaissance period is grammatically the same as that of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, and is the language of participles instead of verbs ; and even from theirs it differs in making extensive use of compounds and neglecting the distinction between the Aorist and the other past tenses. The Sanskrit of Pāṇini's time is more archaic than that of Kātyāyana's time, and Pāṇini's rules are nowhere more scrupulously observed than in

1. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Collected Works, Volume II, page 416f.

[N. B. U.]

such an ancient work as the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.[1] The many forms and expressions which he teaches, and which must have existed in the language, are nowhere found in the later literature; while specimens of them are to be seen in that Brāhmaṇa and like works. Between therefore the archaic language of the Sūtras and the language which Pāṇini calls Bhāṣā and of which he teaches the grammar, on the one hand, and the language of the Renaissance period on the other, there is such a wide difference that no one will ever think of attributing a work written in the style and language of this period to the Great Grammarian. I have in my first lecture[2] assigned Yāska and Pāṇini to the same period of Sanskrit Literature ; and therefore, in my opinion, the style and manner of a work written by Pāṇini, the grammarian must resemble those of the Nirukta ; but in the few verses attributed to Pāṇini there is no such resemblance whatever. Should the entire work be discovered and found as a whole to be written in an archaic style, there will be time enough to consider its claim to be the work of Pāṇini ; but at present we must reject that advanced on behalf of these artificial verses.

I will here briefly state the other arguments I have elsewhere used to prove Pāṇini's great antiquity. In the Early History of the Deccan[3] I have mentioned that while in the Sūtras of Pāṇini there are a great many names of places in Afghanistan, Panjab, and Northern India, there is none of any situated in Southern India. But Kātyāyana inserts such names in his

1. I have shewn this, so far as the Aorist is concerned, in the preface to my Second Book of Sanskrit, and I learn from Dr. Kielhorn that one of his German pupils has recently done the same as regards the cases, in his dissertation for his Ph. D.

2. See the Wilson Philological Lectures for 1877, printed separately, Bombay 1914 p. 30. These Wilson Philological Series 1877, are also now printed in Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Collected Works in Volume IV. [N.B.U.]

3. That is Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Collected Works, Volume III, Page 14f. [N. B. U.]

emendations of the Sūtras, and from this circumstance I have concluded, as Goldstücker has done in other cases, that Southern India was unknown to the Āryas of the North in the time of Pāṇini, while it was known in the time of Kātyāyana. The Aśoka Inscriptions contain a good many names of places in the South, which shows that the Āryas were familiar with that part of the country in his time, i. e. in the middle of the third century before Christ. Pāṇini therefore must have flourished before the third century at least. In a paper published in the first number of the Indian Antiquary[1] I have given reasons for identifying a town of the name of Sāṅgala, destroyed by Alexander the Great, with Sāṅkala mentioned by Pāṇini under IV. 2. 75. Sāṅkala therefore existed in Pāṇini's time, which it could not have done if he lived after Alexander the Great. Pāṇini must therefore have flourished before him. In a review of this paper[2] Professor Weber states that certain Greek geographers speak of the existence of a town of that name even after the time of Alexander. But I believe it is a town of the name of Śākala that they mention, and Śākala, we know, was a flourishing town in Panjab up to a very late period, and was different from Saṅgala which was situated to the east of the Rāvi, while Śākala was situated to the west. Ptolemy mentions Sagala which must be Śākala and not Sāṅkala, as it wants the nasal. Śākala is mentioned in the Mahābhārata as the capital of the Madras, by Patañjali under Pāṇini IV. 2. 104, and in the form of Sāgala in Pāli Buddhistic books such as the Milindapañho. It appears to have been the capital of the Indo-Bactrian princes, since Milinda or Menander is spoken of as reigning at that place But Saṅkala is not mentioned in any Indian work, or Sangala by any Greek writer, in a manner to show that it existed after the time of Alexander. Śākala was an old city, and appears to have been re-built by an Indo-Bactrian king and called Euthydemia. Ptolemy gives this as another name of Sagala.

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1. Printed in this volume pages 102–107. [N. B. U.]

2. See above. [N. B. U.]

Saṅgala was destroyed by Alexander, and there is nothing to show that it was re-built. In a Copper-plate Grant of the Valabhī Dynasty, dated 326, a translation of which was published by me in that same number,[1] and a Nāgarī Transcript in the tenth Volume of the Journal of this Society, puns on the technical terms of Pāṇini are used in describing a king, who is represented as thoroughly versed in the Tantra or art of the Śālāturīya, as well as in that of government. By the Śālāturīya is, of course, meant Pāṇini, he being a native of the town of Śalātura. Such a use of the name of Pāṇini and of his technical terms argues a great deal of everyday familiarity with his work on the part of the writer, and of those for whom he wrote, which would not have been possible unless he had for a very long time been in undisputed possession of the place he has occupied in Sanskrit Literature. Now the date 326 refers to the Gupta-Valabhī Era and corresponds according to my view to 645 A. D., and according to the views of others to 493 and 516 A. D. Thus then in the first half of the seventh century or about the end of the fifth, Pāṇini was an author of established repute, with whom everybody was familiar, and consequently, even then, of great antiquity. Hiuen Tsiang mentions Pāṇini, the author of the grammar, as having been born at Śalātura. Five hundred years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, he tells us, an Arhat converted a boy at Śalātura whom he saw undergoing chastisement at the hands of his teacher for not learning his lessons in Pāṇini's grammar. In connection with the Arhat's observation that the Ṛṣi Pāṇini had compiled the Śabdavidyā, the teacher said that the children of the town revered his eminent qualities, and that a statue erected to his memory still existed at Śalātura. The Arhat thereupon told the teacher that the boy whom he had been chastising was Pāṇini himself, who had come into the world again to study the holy doctrine of the Tathāgata. As Pāṇini he had wasted a vigorous intellect in studying worldly literature

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1. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Collected Works, Volume III, p.214ff. [N.B.U.]

and composing heretical treatises, and therefore had, since that time, run through cycles of continued births. This boy therefore had no capacity for the study of grammar. From this it is clear that, according to the Buddhistic tradition prevalent in Hiuen Tsiang's time, i.e., in the first half of the seventh century, the length of time that elapsed between Pāṇini and the end of the fifth century after the Nirvāṇa, was computable by cycles of continued births. And the "recent speculation" also that Professor Peterson speaks of, instead of modernizing Pāṇini, tends in the same direction. For, we now know that Bhartṛhari lived before 650 A. D., and from the account that he gives of the fate of the Mahābhāṣya, it appears, as I shall mention further on more particularly, that that work was written several centuries before him. And Pāṇini, of course, must have lived a long time before Patañjali, the author of the Mahābhāṣya. A very large variety of arguments such as these clearly prove Pāṇini's high antiquity. The modern verses, therefore, attributed to him must be regarded as written by another author of that time.

In his Second Report, Professor Peterson quotes a verse ascribed to Rājaśekhara in which Pāṇini, the author of the grammar, is represented to be the author of a poem entitled Jāmbuvatījaya. He also speaks of Professor Aufrecht's having seen it stated in an anonymous verse that the poet Pāṇini was the son of Dākṣī. In themselves both these statements prove nothing as to the age of Pāṇini. The great Grammarian may have been a poet, and may have written a work called Jāmbuvatījaya. But if the verses brought to light are from that work and consequently the work is of the nature of those belonging to the period of the Renaissance then at once the tradition which represents the author of that work to be the same as the author of the Aṣṭādhyāyī must be rejected as conflicting with the clearest evidence, internal as well as external. It is a tradition of the same nature as that which represents the author of the Nalodaya to be the same as the author of Śakuntalā, or which refers Kālidāsa to the

first century before the Christian era, or which makes Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti contemporaries, or which identifies Hāla with Kuntala, and both with Śālivāhana.

This, then, is what comes of the " recent speculation ", which is " slowly but surely " referring Patañjali to the fifth century of the Christian era. And if I can show that the evidence on which the author of the Mahābhaṣya is referred to the middle of the second century before Christ not only remains totally un-shaken by anything that Professor Peterson has directly urged against it, but is corroborated by facts, recently brought to light, the Professor's " recent speculation " will be utterly powerless by itself to modernize Pāṇini and his commentators. Professor Peterson himself sees this, and hence he makes only a passing allusion to it, and does not bring it forward prominently.

The first thing against which Professor Peterson directs his attack is the statement of Kalhaṇa,[1] the chronicler of Kaśmīr, that Candrācārya and others introduced the study of the Mahābhāṣya into that country in the reign of Abhimanyu. His statement is considered as deserving of no credit, on the general ground that the part of the Rājataraṅgiṇī where it occurs is, according to the Professor, full of improbabilities. In regard to such a professedly historical work as the Rājtaraṅgiṇī the correct principle to go upon is, in my opinion, to accept such statements as are not improbable in themselves, and do not go against stronger and more reliable evidence. If we adopt the principle laid down by Professor Peterson, we shall have to reject everything that is said in this part of the work, even his statement that Kaśmīr was ruled over a little before this time by three princes of Turaṣka extraction, Huṣka, Juṣka, and Kaniṣka. But Inscriptions and coins prove this statement of Kalhaṇa to be true, and confiirmation of this nature shows that he is entitled to our credit, except, I repeat, in those cases where stronger evidence proves him to be wrong. And in the present case not only is here nothing that goes against his statement, but the passage in

1 Rājataraṅgiṇī, I. 176, Bombay Sanskrit Series. [N. B. U.]

Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya confirms it, since, there also, we are told that Candrācārya revived the study of the Mahābhāṣya. Of course, Bhartṛhari does not say that Candrācārya did that in the reign of Abhimanyu; but since the main portion of the statement is confirmed, it is in every way reasonable that we should believe in the remaining part. Professor Peterson says that Kalhaṇa's authority is the statement in the Vākyapadīya, but this is a mere assumption, and the fact that Bhartṛhari does not mention the name of Abhimanyu would rather show that it was not the Vākyapadiya that Kalhaṇa followed. In another place the Rājataraṅgiṇī states[1] that a subsequent king, Jayāpīḍa, who is said to have reigned from 755 A. D. to 786 A. D., re-introduced the study of the Mahābhāṣya which had ceased to be studied in his realm. The word विच्छिन्नं which occurs in the verse and signifies "cut off," "interrupted," and which, consequently, I have translated by "ceased to be studied," shows that the Mahābhāṣya continued to be studied in Kaśmīr for some time after Candrācārya had revived its study, but had fallen into disuse in that country. Hence it was that Jayāpīḍa brought Paṇḍitas from other parts of India, and re-introduced the study of the book. For this statement, also, Professor Peterson thinks the passage in the Vākyapadīya to be Kalhaṇa's authority, and believes that the author of the Kaśmīr chronicle divided the passage into two parts, and assigned Candrācārya to the reign of Abhimanyu for "greater glory" of that monarch. But why he should be so partial to that monarch, removed as he was from his time by centuries, it is diffieult to conceive. The Professor thinks this latter statement of Kalhaṇa about Jayāpīḍa's revival of the study of the Mahābhāṣya "to be far more deserving of credit," and understands by विच्छिन्नं that cessation of the study of the work in the whole of India and not in Kaśmīr alone, from which, according to the Vākyapadīya, Candrācārya "had (recently ?) rescued" it. For these several assumptions, however, the Professor gives no grounds, and to me this looks like

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1, Rājataraṅgiṇī IV. 488, Bombay Sanskrit Series. [N. B. U.]

a process of manufacturing history to order, and not interpreting history. But in this way Professor Peterson falls unawares into a trap which he has prepared for himself. He evidently seems to think that the revival of the study of the Mahābhāṣya by Candrācārya, mentioned by Bhartṛhari, took place in about 755 A.D., in the reign of Jayāpīḍa; but Bhartṛhari, who mentions the fact, died, according to I-tsing, the Chinese traveller, about the year 650 A. D.; so that according to the Professor's reading of history Bhartṛhari makes mention of a fact that took place about 105 years after his death! Thus then Kalhaṇa did not assign one part of what took place in the time of Jayāpīḍa to Abhimanyu's reign "for the greater glory" of that monarch, and not only is there nothing that conflicts with that author's placing Candrācārya in the reign of Abhimanyu, but all that we know is in perfect harmony with it. Hence the statement of Kalhaṇa must be accepted. Now, when Abhimanyu reigned it is somewhat difficult to determine, since the Kaśmīr chronology of this early period is not clear. Abhimanyu, according to Kalhaṇa, got possession of the Kaśmīr throne after the three Turuṣka or Indo-Scythian princes. Kaniṣka, the first of these, is referred to the first century, and is by some considered to be the founder of the Śaka era which begins in 78 A. D. On this supposition the last of these princess reigned up to about 178 A. D. But I am inclined, for reasons elsewhere given,[1] to place Kaniṣka about a century later, so as to bring the last Indo-Scythian prince about the end of the third century.[2] Thus the study of the Mahābhāṣya was revived by Candrācarya about the end of the third century at the latest.

Professor Peterson next discusses the sense of the passage in the Mahābhaṣya in which the name Maurya occurs. This has been understood to be the name of the dynasty that ruled over Pāṭaliputra and the whole of Northern India at the end of the

1. Early History of the Deccan, p. 20.=Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Collected Works, Volume III, p. 38n. [N. B. U.]

2. "A Peep into the Early History of India", this Volume, p. 35. [N.B U.]

fourth and in the third century before Christ. Professor Peterson criticises Professor Goldstücker's translation, says that no contrast between the Mauryas and common people, which he thinks led Goldstücker to understand the dynasty by that name, is here meant, and takes the word Maurya to mean a guild or caste of idol-makers, which is the interpretation put upon the word by Nāgojibhaṭṭa.

That Goldstücker misunderstood the grammatical import of the passage and that Professor Peterson gives it correctly is true. I myself published[1] a translation of it in 1873, in accordance with the native commentators, and stated that Goldstücker's translation was wrong. But in other respects Professor Peterson's translation is incorrect, and the grounds for taking "Maurya" as the name of a dynasty that was extinct in Patañjali's time still remain. The contrast between a royal dynasty and common people is not that ground; but there is another contrast which Professor Peterson has lost sight of and which consequently has been neglected in his translation. That translation[2] is :—

"In that case [if अपण्ये is to be part of the rule] *the following expression* is not obtained [i. e., must be declared to be bad grammar, while as a matter of fact, it is in common use, and so it is the correctness of the Sūtra that is in peril]. स्कन्दो विशाख: "A Skanda in act to shoot." "Why?" "It is for gain that the Mauryas *make* images." तासु न स्यात् "Let it be admitted that so far to them the rule कनो लुप् should not apply, but that the affix Ka shouldbe used." यास्त्वेता: संप्रति पूजार्था: "But whatever images *among these* even, are *frvm the beginning* intended for worship and not for sale, तासु भविष्यति to them that rule will apply, and the affix Ka will be barred." The Italics are mine with the exception of those in the first expression.

1. This Volume, p. 154. [N. B. U.]

2. Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini, V. 3. 99. अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति। शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति। किं कारणम्। मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः। भवेत्तासु न स्यात्। यास्त्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति।

Professor Peterson rejects the reading शिवः before स्कन्दः, why, I do not understand, unless the reason be that it goes against the translation which he was worked himself into believing to be correct. विशाखः he translates by "in act to shoot" and his authority is a certain explanation of the word with a second-hand quotation in support from a commentary on the Amarakośa, contained in the St. Petersburg Lexicon, and copied from that as a matter of course by Monier Williams. But Böhtlingk and Roth have not found a single instance of the use of the word in that sense in the whole extent of the literature which they have examined. Still Professor Peterson thinks Patañjali has used it in that sense. But after all what Böhtlingk and Roth and Monier Williams say is that विशाख expresses "*an attitude* in shooting"; and not "one *in* that attitude"; so that if the sense is to be admitted here at all, स्कन्दो विशाखः would mean "Skanda who is an attitude in shooting," which of course will not do. Patañjali, however, uses the word as expressive of a certain god who is always mentioned together with Skanda. Under Pāṇini VIII. I. 15, he gives द्वन्द्वं स्कन्दविशाखौ along with द्वन्द्वं पर्वतनारदौ as an instance of a copulative compound of the names of things or persons always mentioned together, which admits of the use of the word Dvandva or "pair" instead of Dvau, or "two." It is clear from this that Patañjali himself means to speak of them as two individuals always associated together, and forming a pair, and the dual also expresses that they were two.

Now Professor Peterson's translation of मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः is "It is for gain that the Mauryas *make* images." "Make" is *present* tense while the original प्रकल्पिताः is *past* tense, that being the past passive participle of the causal of कॢप्. Again प्रकल्पिताः means "devised," "planned," "used as means," and not simply "made." A closer translation of हिरण्यार्थिभिः than that we have in the expression "for gain" ought to be given; for an important point is involved in that. Patañjali applies several times the expression अर्थिनश्च हिरण्येन भवन्ति "seek for gold" to kings; and

the presumption it gives rise to is that here too those to whom he applies it must be kings. In the last sentence Professor Peterson's translation of the nominative एताः by "among these" is wrong. It is only the genitive एतासाम् or the locative एतासु that can be so translated. Similarly संप्रति cannot mean "from the beginning" as the Professor takes it to mean ; it can only signify "now," "in these days," &c.

The sense of the passage is this :—Pāṇini lays down a rule that the termination Ka which is appended to the name of an object to signify something resembling that object (इवे), provided that something is an image (प्रतिकृतौ), is dropped (कनो लुप्), when the image is used for deriving a livelihood (जीविकार्थे) and is not vendible (च अपण्ये). Now, Patañjali raises this question. The addition of the condition that the image should not be vendible renders such forms as Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ, Viśākhaḥ, grammatically not justifiable (तत्रेदं -- विशाख इति). He must here be taken to mean that these forms are current, and that the description "not vendible" is not applicable to them. "Why not" (किं कारणम्), he asks. "Because the Mauryas, seeking for gold or money, used images of gods as means" (मौर्यै -प्रकल्पिताः). Here the author must be understood to say that the description "not vendible" is not applicable to the images now called Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ, and Viśākhaḥ because such images were sold by the Mauryas. They are therefore vendible objects, though as a matter of fact they are not for sale, and though the selling of such images of gods is discreditable. It is the act of the Mauryas that has rendered them vendible objects. Hence the termination cannot be dropped in accordance with the rule, and they should be called Śivakaḥ, Skandakaḥ and Viśākhakaḥ, but they are called Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ; and Viśākhaḥ. "It may be (भवेत्) that the rule about the dropping of Ka is not applicable (न स्यात्) to them, i. e. to those (तासु) images of gods which were sold by the Mauryas. But as to these (एताः) [viz. those called by the names Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ; and Viśākhaḥ, the correctness of which is in question] which (याः) are at the present day used for worship (संप्रति पूजार्थाः) the

rule is applicable to them (तासु भविष्यति)." That is, the termination Ka should be dropped in their case and the forms whose correctness was questioned are correct.

The forms are correct, because they signify images of gods which are now worshipped and are not vendible. They were thought to come under the class of vendible objects because such images were used by the Mauryas for raising money; but the vendibility of some does not make those that are worshipped vendible, and consequently, the names of those images do come under Pāṇini's rule and drop Ka. In understanding the passage thus I have set aside Nāgojibhatta's comment which I think can be shown to be wrong. He appears to me to say that the words, Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ and Viśākhaḥ, express images sold by the Mauryas, and as such they are vendible objects and consequently should have the termination Ka, i. e. the forms should be Śivakaḥ, &c., and not Śivaḥ, &c., as given in the Mahābhāṣya which are incorrect, while those, which, in conformity with Pāṇini's Sūtra drop Ka, are such as express images, intended for that sort of worship which immediately after their manufacture brings in gains and enables a man to earn his livelihood. Now this makes no difference as to the province or operation of Pāṇini's rule; but that the passage itself has been misunderstood by Nāgojibhaṭṭa appears to me clear. He interprets संप्रति पूजार्थाः as "bringing in gains immediately after manufacture," which interpretation is far-fetched, as are those of all commentators when they do not understand the point and still wish to explain a passage somehow. He also neglects the word एताः. But the great mistake he makes is his forgetting that when Patañjali supposes an opponent and makes him raise an objection by the expression न सिध्यति, "this is not justifiable by that rule," he very generally makes him object to the rule by bringing forward correct forms which that rule does not explain. Eventually, he interprets the rule in such a manner that those forms also are explained by it. In accordance with my interpretation this is exactly what is done

here by Patañjali. If the passage were put in the form of a dialogue between the Doctor (Siddhāntin) and his opponent (Pūrvapakṣin), it would stand thus :—

Op. Pāṇini inserts the condition that the image should not be vendible. Then, the forms Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ, Viśākhaḥ, are not correct according to his rule. [These forms express images of those gods, and should have the suffix Ka].

Doc. Why ?

Op. Because the Mauryas, desirous of raising money, used as means the images of gods, [i. e. they bartered them ; and these are such images, and consequently belong to the class of vendible objects].

Doc. Those images may not come under the rule, [because they bartered them, and consequently they may not drop Ka]. But these, [viz., those in question] which at the present day are used for worship, come under the operation of the rule [and consequently the Ka is dropped].

Does this passage contain history ? The past tense in the third speech itself shows that whoever the Mauryas were, they existed at a time which preceded the present time expressed in the last sentence of the fourth speech. And the present time must clearly be the time when Patañjali wrote. The Mauryas could not have been idol-makers, for, if they were, there was no necessity for referring them to past time. Nāgojibhaṭṭa, no doubt, says they were idol-makers. But Nāgojibhaṭṭa was a Śāstrī or Paṇḍita, who lived about a hundred and fifty years ago, and though a man of very great learning and acuteness, did not care at all for history or had no conception of it, and as I have already observed, like other commentators, he often cuts the gordian knot of a difficulty instead of untying it. And what authority is there in the whole range of Sanskrit literature for taking the word in that sense ? It is used in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa to express a certain class of demons. But these demons can have nothing to do here. The word therefore must be understood in the only other known

sense, and that is, that it was the name of a royal dynasty founded by Candragupta about 320 B. C. And Patañjali's expression Hiraṇyārthibhiḥ does certainly not discountenance the hypothesis, as I have already observed ; for he has used the same expression in an uncompounded condition in speaking of kings generally. What is this fact that the author of the Mahābhāṣya mentions regarding the Mauryas ? It may be, as Professor Weber has stated, that the Mauryas coined money by stamping the images of gods on the pieces ; or it may be anything else.

Professor Peterson next proceeds to consider the historical value of the passages pointed out by Professor Goldstücker and myself, the events mentioned in which we regard as contemporaneous with Patañjali. In Goldstücker's passage, Patañjali gives अरुणद्यवनः साकेतम्, "The Yavana besieged Sāketa, " as an instance of Kātyāyana's rule that the Imperfect should be used to express an event, (1) known generally to people, and (2) not witnessed by the speaker, but (3) capable of being witnessed by him. The event mentioned in the instance must be understood as having these three attributes. The Yavana's siege of Sāketa was known to all, and could be actually witnessed by the speaker if he wished, but was not, as a matter of fact ; that is to say, the event took place during the life-time of the speaker. But who is the speaker ? Is he necessarily to be supposed to be contemporaneous with Patañjali or Patañjali himself ; or is his time an irrelevant matter ? Professor Peterson thinks it is irrelevant, and the speaker may be supposed to have lived any number of years before Patañjali. Then how is it to be made out by Patañjali's pupil, for whose edification he gives the example, that the verb Aruṇad here expresses an action that could be witnessed by the speaker ? What Professor Peterson says amounts to this, that the pupil should know, as we now know it, that the verb expresses such an action, from the fact that this is an example of the rule that the Imperfect is used to denote an action that could be witnessed by the speaker. Then what was the necessity of a historical example ? Patañjali might have

given such an instance as this :—देवदत्तो मथुरामगच्छत्, "Devadatta went to Mathurā." That this was a fact well known, not witnessed by the speaker, but capable of being witnessed by him, his pupils should have gathered from the fact that it was an example of the rule. And what is the point of the counter-examples that he gives? He puts the question, "Why does the Vārtikakāra say, 'the event must not be witnessed by the speaker' [परोक्ष इति किमर्थम्]?" The answer is, "In such instances as 'The sun has risen' [उदगादादित्यः], the Imperfect is not to be used but the Aorist", for this fact is known to people generally and is capable of being witnessed by the speaker; but it is not such as is *not* witnessed by the speaker. Again, "Why does he say the event must be known to people generally [लोकविज्ञात इति किमर्थम्]?" "Because, in such instances as 'Devadatta made a mat' (चकार कटं देवदत्तः), the Perfect must be used and not the Imperfect"; for this event is not witnessed by the speaker and is capable of being witnessed by him, but it is not a thing that is known to people generally. And lastly, "Why does he say it must be capable of being witnessed by the speaker [प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषय इति किमर्थम्]?" "Because in such instances as 'Vāsudeva killed Kaṁsa' (जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः), the Perfect should be used, and not the Imperfect"; for the event is generally known to people, and is not witnessed by the speaker; *but it is not capable of being witnessed by the speaker, as it took place a long time ago*. It will thus be seen that these counter-examples are such that their possessing two of the three conditions, and not possessing one, is a fact that is known to the persons whom Patañjali is addressing, and is not to be made out by them simply because he says so. Similarly, the fact that the example, "the Yavana besieged Sāketa", possesses the three necessary conditions, must be known to the pupils independently of the rule, and then only can they see that the Imperfect is properly used. If the existence of the three conditions in the example were a thing to be made out from the wording of the rule only, अहन्कंसं किल वासुदेवः would also serve as

an example of the rule instead of अरुणद्यवनः साकेतम् for we might suppose the speaker to be contemporaneous with Vāsudeva, since the rule requires it to be so. The counter-examples would be pointless if there were no way of knowing, independently of the rule, that one of the conditions was absent. And we shall see, if we compare these examples, that the means of judging whether the conditions of a rule are realized in an example are supplied by the pupil's acquaintance with the world, and with history and mythology. When the conditions are verbal, it is the eye and the ear that discover whether they are fulfilled. This is what Patañjali supposes, and not a previous acquaintance with the language, as Professor Peterson thinks. Even in the English example he has given, "In six days God made heaven and earth", we know that this use of the past tense is proper, because we know from the Book of Genesis and not from the rule about that tense, that God did create heaven and earth in six days, i. e. it is a past action.

I will here endeavour to state clearly the relation between the rules and examples given by a grammarian. Every rule lays down a certain condition, and prescribes what should be done when the condition is satisfied. An example intended to illustrate such a rule can serve its purpose only then when the pupil or reader sees, independently of the rule, from his knowledge of the world, including that of history, that the condition mentioned in the rule is satisfied and what is prescribed is done. In those examples in which the names of possible individuals such as John, and Caīus, and Devadatta are used, the condition can only be satisfied by the possible and not actual existence of its requirements. "John is writing a book" is an appropriate example of the use of the Present Progressive, because the condition that the action of writing should be of a nature to be *progressive* and *present* is satisfied in so far as it is possible for the action to have both characteristics in this case. But this possibility is independent of the rule, and is to be made out by the

reader or pupil through his knowledge of the world. For if, instead of this example, we have "John is loving Jane and hating Tom", we see it is not appropriate, though the rule is the same. The reason is that the condition is not satisfied, as the actions of *loving* and *hating* are not of a nature to admit of progressiveness, and this we know independently of the rule. In the same way the example, "Gibbon is writing the history of the Decline and Fall" would be inappropriate as given by grammarians of the present day, because the condition that the action should be *present* cannot be satisfied, for Gibbon is not living now. But as given by a grammarian living while Gibbon was writing his work, it would be appropriate; for that condition would then be satisfied. A grammarian of the present day can use the fact only for illustrating the use of the Past tense and say, "Gibbon wrote the History of the Decline and Fall." It will, therefore, be seen, that when examples containing the names of *actual* or historical and not *possible* individuals are used, the condition of the rule can only be satisfied by its requirements having an *actual* or historical, and not *possible*, existence.

Thus, then, in the case before us, in which we have a historical example, the requirements of the condition must have an actual or historical existence, and Patañjali's pupils must see from their acquaintance with the world, and not from the rule of Kātyāyana, that the siege by the Yavana was known to people generally, that it was not witnessed by the speaker, but that it was capable of being witnessed by him. Now if the speaker was an indefinite person who lived nobody knew when, it was not possible that the pupils should be able to find out whether the condition that the siege should be capable of being witnessed by him was satisfied in the example, and therefore he must be supposed to be contemporaneous with them and with Patañjali, or Patañjali himself. Professor Peterson thinks Nāgojibhaṭṭa supports his view. But Nāgojibhaṭṭa puts himself in the position of a modern reader, and not in the position of Patañjali's pupils; and infers from the Vārtika and the example that the speaker

belongs to the same time as that when the siege took place. We know nothing of this siege and when it was undertaken : and have consequently to infer from the passage the chronological relation between it and the speaker. But Nāgojibhaṭṭa does not say that the contemporaneity of the siege and the speaker is the only inference that is valid, and that the " user " is not necessarily Patañjali or contemporaneous with him On the other hand, he remarks:— "The killing of Kaṁsa is not even capable of being witnessed by a speaker living in these days (इदानींतनप्रयोक्तुः), while in the example Aruṇad etc.,[1] the speaker is contemporaous with the action. " The word इदानींतन ' living in these days ' which he has used in connection with the speaker in the *counter-example,* " Vāsudeva killed Kaṁsa, " is to be understood as applicable to the प्रवक्ता or speaker in the *example* also ; so that Nāgojibhaṭṭa must be taken to mean that the speaker *of these days* is contemporaneous with the action. " These days " are of course the days when Patañjali wrote.

Again, even if the contemporaneity of the siege of Sāketa by the Yavana and of Patañjali be admitted, it proves nothing, according to Professor Peterson, as regards the age of Patañjali. " There is nothing to show that the Yavanas besieged Sāketa in the time of Menander, or that they did not besiege that ciry more than once in the centuries that followed. " But the question has certainly advanced a stage and it were very much to be wished that the Professor had taken it up there. Of the Indo-Bactrian princes Demetrius and Menander have been represented by the Greek historians to have made the largest conquests. The former is said to have reigned between 205 and 165 B. C.[2] According to Strabo, as Goldstücker has stated, Menander pushed his conquests up to the Jumna (Yamunā) river. The Indo-Bactrian dynasty became extinct in B. C. 85, according to Lassen.

1. भाष्ये जघानेति । कंसवधो हि नेदानींतनप्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनयोग्योऽपीत्यर्थः । अरुणदित्युदाहरणे तु तुल्यकालः प्रवक्तेति बोध्यम् । From a MS. in my possession.

2. Kern's Edition. of Varāhamihira, Preface.

In the Gārgī Saṁhitā, the Yavanas are mentioned as having conquered Sāketa, Pañcāla, and Mathurā, and penetrated even to Kusumapura or Pāṭaliputra. Of the Indo-Bactrian kings, Menander was the one who seems to have come in close contact with the Indians. There is a work in Pāli entitled Milindapañho which gives an account of a religious conversation between a Yoṇa king of the name of Milinda and a Buddhist sage of the name of Nāgasena. Milinda has been identified with Menander. There is, therefore, every probability that it was Menander that laid the siege to Sāketa alluded to by Patañjali. But if Professor Peterson is not satisfied, no Greek invasion of India could have taken place after 85 B. C.; so that the " centuries that followed " during which the Yavanas could, according to him, have besieged the city are reduced to about 60 years. That the Indians called the Greeks only Yavanas during the three centuries preceding the Christian era and about as many after, is a fact. Aśoka calls Antiochus, king of Syria, a Yoṇa-rājā. Milinda or Menander is so styled in the Milindapañho, and in the Gārgī Saṁhitā the Yavanas are spoken of as good astronomers;; wherefore the Greeks must have been meant. Kaniṣka and his successors are called Turuṣkas in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, and the Indo-Scythians, who overran a large part of the country, were called Śakas. Persians or Parthians are spoken of as Palhavas ; and the Huns, who poured into the country later, are styled Hūṇas. So that during this early period, each of these foreign races was called by a distinctive name and there was no confusion. By the name Yavana, Patañjali therefore could not have meant a prince of any other than the Greek race. Hence the siege of Sāketa by a Yavana could by no possibility have taken place after 85 B. C.; and for the reasons above stated and also because the Indo-Bactrian kings could not have invaded the country during the years of their decline, it was Menander in all likelihood that is spoken of as the Yavana by our great Grammarian.

As with the example pointed out by Goldstücker, so with mine. Kātyāyana's Vārtika is : "the Bhavantī or forms of the Present

Tense should be prescribed for use to express an action which has begun but not ceased, " for, though at a particular time *during the interval that action may not be going on, still if it* has not ceased, it should be expressed even at that time, by means of the Present tense. " Here we sacrifices for Puṣpamitra " (इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः) is one of the three instances by which Patañjali illustrates the rule. It is a historical instance, and consequently on the principles laid down before, the re quirement of the condition mentioned in the rule must have an actual or historical existence. If Puṣpamitra had flourished long before Patañjali, it would not have done for him to illustrate an action that had begun but not ended by speaking of his sacrifice, in the same manner as it would not do for us in these days, to illustrate such an action by " God is making heaven and earth " or " Gibbon is writing the History of the Decline and Fall. " And as we must have recourse in these days to an event that is going on at present, if we wish to give a historical illustration, and say such a thing as " Kielhorn is editing the Mahābhāṣya, " so when Patañjali wanted to give a historical illustration of the rule, and said, " Here we sacrifice for Puṣpamitra, " it must have been an occurrence actually then going on that he had recourse to. In other words, Patañjali's pupils must be able to see that in this example, the condition laid down in the rule that " an action must have begun but not ended " is fulfilled. This would, of course, be impossible for them to find out if Puṣpamitra flourished long before them. If instead of this historical fact, Patañjali had instanced a possible fact and said, " Here we sacrifice for Devadatta " (इह देवदत्तं याजयामः), all that would have been necessary is that the action of sacrificing (याजनक्रिया) should be of a nature to have a *possible* present existence and to extend over many days and admit of intervals during which it is not actually going on ; and then his example would have resembled such a modern example as " John is writing a book. " But Puṣpamitra, being a historical personage, the action affirmed with reference to him must have an *actual* present existence at the time. When, therefore Patañjali wrote this, the sacrifice of Puṣpamitra had begun, but not ended.

Professor Peterson, however, considers it " more probable than not " from the whole context of the passage, and not from the illustration, that " Patañjali lived at the time, and perhaps at the court, of Puṣpamitra. " The historical import of the illustration I have explained, and nothing more remains to be said on this point, except that instead of saying the " whole context of the passage, " if the Professor had said " from this passage, and another in which Puṣpamitra's sacrifice is spoken of and he is represented as giving the money required, and from a third in which he is meant to be spoken of as a particular king (राजविशेष:) and as holding his courts ", it would have answered his purpose better. But though Professor Peterson admits that Patañjali very probably lived in the time of Puṣpamitra, still he thinks that there is no ground for believing that he was the Puṣpamitra who reigned in the second century before Christ ; and has got Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji to unearth for him another Puṣpamitra, who lived about the time of Skandagupta. But this process has certainly not succeeded. For, in the first place, General Cunningham, writing in 1861-62, says with regard to the Bhitari Lāṭ and the Inscription on it : " Unfortunately, this face is much weather-worn, and the stone has also peeled off in several places, so that the Inscription is now in even a worse condition than when I first saw it in January 1836."[1] Then, the line read समुदितदलकोषम्पुष्यमित्रं गृहीत्वा by Dr. Bhau Daji, and समुदितबलकोषात्पुष्यमित्रं च जित्वा by Dr. Bhagvanlal (both reading from the same transcript), reads in General Cunningham's copy[2] वृरपच्चयमकोशं वाक्यमित्रं गदित्वा, where we see Puṣyamitra is transformed into Vākyamitra. This shows unmistakably in what condition the Inscription is. In the impression or facsimile given by Dr. Bhau Daji, I can read समुदितबलकोष ··· मित्रं गृहीत्वा. The जि of Bhagvanlal's जित्वा does not at all appear there, and the word looks certainly far more like गृहीत्वा than च जित्वा, and General Cunningham's गदित्वा agrees better with the former than with the

1. Arch. Report, Volume I. p. 98.

2. Ibid. plate XXX.

latter. The two letters between कोष and मित्रं are illegible, and the second certainly looks much more like General Cunningham's क्य than ष्य and may be ष्य, and it was on this account that Bhau Daji himself must have enclosed "Puṣya" within brackets in his translation. It cannot be a printer's error, as Professor Peterson supposes; and the reason why पुष्य is not bracketed in the Nāgarī Transcript must have been that Bhau Daji himself did not read a proof of it, but left it to his Śāstris. There is then no authority for reading the word as "Puṣyamitra" in the published copies of the Inscription. So that until Professor Peterson gets Dr. Bhagvanlal to publish a more legible facsimile, I must refuse to believe in his Puṣyamitra's having been a man of flesh and bones and in his having been conquered by Skandgupta.[1]

But supposing that there was a prince of that name in Skandagupta's time, is it possible he could have been Patañjali's Puṣpamitra? Decidedly not. Let us determine the environments of Patañjali's Puṣpamitra as they are to be gathered from the Mahā-

1. After the above was written I saw Mr. Fleet in Poona. As Epigraphical Surveyor to the Government of India he has taken fresh impressions of the Gupta Inscriptions. He was good enough to show that of the Inscription on the Bhitari Lāṭ to me. He agrees with General Cunningham in stating that the inscription is much worn and illegible, and says it is the worst of the Gupta inscriptions. He reads पुष्यामित्रं but instead of च [जत्वा there is in his copy गृहीत्वा distinctly. But he says the whole line is quite capable of being read समुदितबलकोषान्पुष्यमित्रान्गृहीत्वा ; and this, I believe, is a much better reading than Bhagvanlal's समुदितचलकोषात्पुष्यमित्रं. For, the ablative कोषात् as taken to express the means by which Skandagupta is represented to have conquered Puṣyamitra is unquestionably ungrammatical. The accusative, therefore, is correct, and thus पुष्यमित्रान् for पुष्यमित्रं is also correct. If then this is the true reading, पुष्यमित्र becomes the name, not of an individual, but of a tribe, and a tribe of that name is mentioned in the Purāṇas as having held power over some part of the country during the period of confusion that followed the overthrow of the Āndhrabhṛtyas.

bhāṣya, and then examine whether they are to be found in the first prince of the Śuṅga dynasty who reigned in the second century before Christ, or in Skandagupta's supposed Puṣyamitra. 1. Patañjali's Puṣpamitra performed, as we have seen, a sacrifice which must have been the Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by paramount sovereigns. 2. He must have lived at a time when the country was exposed to the inroads of Yavanas. For, though Professor Peterson has denied the contemporaneity of Patañjali and the sieges of Śāketa and Madhyamikā he cannot deny that such events must have taken place at a time sufficiently near to that of Patañjali in order that he might know of them, think of them, and speak of them. 3. Patañjali's Puṣpamitra lived at a time when the memory of another great king of the name of Candragupta had not died away. For under Pāṇini I. 1. 68 Patañjali gives as instance of compounds of the names of particular kings with the word sabhā, Candragupta-sabhā[1] and Puṣpamitra-sabhā. Now these environments are found in the case of the Puṣpamitra who reigned in the second century before Christ. For Kālidāsa tells us in his Mālavikāgnimitra that Senāpati Puṣpamitra, the father of Agnimitra and the grandfather of Vasumitra, and consequently the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice. He also tells us that the horse which had been let loose previous to the sacrifice and was under the protection of Vasumitra was captured hy the cavalry of the Yavanas on the southern bank of the Sindhu. Greek writers also inform us, as we have seen, that the Indo- Bactrian kings several times invaded India in the second century. Now, these two circumstances cannot be true in the case of the supposed Puṣpamitra of the fourth or fifth century. For he was a minor

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1. Dr. Kielhorn omits this in his Edition, but it occurs in four of his MSS. and also in the Kāsikā. Besides it will be seen that two instances of compounds of the synonyms of राजन् are given, wherefore one might expect two of Rājaviśeṣas or particular kings. The reading चन्द्रगुप्तसभा, therefore, must be correct. [Kielhorn's Second edition of the Mahābhāṣya (1892) restores the reading चन्द्रगुप्तसभा, p.177, lines 10-11. - N.B.U.]

prince, and not lord paramount, since he was conquered by Skandagupta and since paramount sovereignty was enjoyed, as we know, by the Gupta princes. He could not, therefore, have performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice. And in the Inscription on the Bhitari Lāṭ we are told that the Aśvamedha sacrifice had long fallen into disuse, no doubt, because for the first three centuries of the Christian era the country was in the hands of foreigners of the Śaka, Palhava, and other tribes, and Buddhism rather than Brahmaṇism was in favour with these foreigners. It was Samudragupta, the greatest of the Gupta princes and great-grandfather of Skandagupta that revived the rite. Again, it was not the Yavanas that harassed the country in the time of Skandagupta, but the Hūṇas or Huns, as we know from the last part of this same Inscription and from foreign writers. Their inroads continued till the sixth century, as we learn from the Harṣacarita of which Professor Peterson has given such an excellent abstract in the Preface to his edition of Kādambarī. As to the third circumstance, it is applicable to Puṣpamitra the Śuṅga; for Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, flourished only a little more than a hundred years before, and being one of the greatest princess of the family, perhaps the greatest, was of course not forgotten. In the case of the supposed Puṣpamitra, his being associated with Candragupta is no doubt explicable; for there were two Candraguptas in the Gupta family. But neither of these two was the greatest prince of his family, and there is no reason why either should be mentioned in preference to Samudragupta. Since, however, this is the only circumstance out of those found alluded to in the Mahābhāṣya, which might be considered applicable to the latter Puṣpamitra, little weight can be attached to it as against the earlier Puṣpāmitra, while the existing evidence in favour of the latter being Patañjali's Puṣpamitra is greatly strengthened and corroborated by that circumstance being applicable in his case.

And if there was such a Puṣpamitra in the time of Skandagupta and Patañjali lived in his reign, between Patañjali and Bhartṛhari a period of only about 150 years intervened according

to the true date of Skandagupta, but of about 275 or 300 years, according to those assumed by certain archæologists.[1] Is this period enough to account for the manner in which Bhartṛhari speaks of the Mahābhāṣya in that celebrated passage which has been so often quoted and translated, and for the eventful history of the work which he there gives? Bhartṛhari calls Patañjali a Tīrthadarśin, i. e., "the seer of the saving truth," and the Mahābhāṣya an Ārṣagrantha, or a work composed by one who had such a keen perceptive faculty as the Ṛṣis of old possessed, and consequently as authoritative as those composed by the Ṛṣis. Can such a thing be said by one of a work written only 150 years before him or even 300 years? A book can become Ārṣa, as a custom can become law, or in the language of Indian writers, Vedamūlaka, i. e. based on the Vedas, only when its origin is forgotten. Then, Bhartṛhari tells us "Baiji, Śaubhava, and Haryakṣa set at nought the work of Patañjali, following their own conjectures and guesses." "And the tradition of grammar which had fallen away from the pupils of Patañjali was in the course of time preserved only in books among the people of the South. Then Candrācārya and others obtained the tradition from Parvata, and following the principles laid down in the Bhāṣya made it branch off into many schools". And it was after all this had taken place that Bhartṛhari's master flourished. I do not think a period of 150 or 300 years can account for all this; and consequently the Puṣpamitra conquered by Skandagupta, even if he really existed, cannot be Patañjali's Puṣpamitra; while, if we take the passages about the Mauryas and the Yavanas in the manner in which they must be understood, and place reliance on Kalhaṇa's statement about Abhimanyu, he has no chance whatever. I will now pass under review the whole evidence as regards the date of Patañjali :—

a. The passage about Yavana shows that Patañjali lived about the time when a Yavana besieged Sāketa and Madhyamikā.

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1. Mr. Fleet has recently found a date of one of the Guptas which confirms my interpretation of the dates of the dynasty.

This leads us to about the middle of the second century before Christ.

b. The passage in which the name of Puṣpamitra occurs shows that Patañjali lived during the reign of Puṣpamitra. Two other passages in which the name of that monarch is mentioned corroborate this view and leave no reasonable doubt about the matter. This also leads us to about the middle of the second century before Christ.

The date so arrived at is consistent—

c. With the mention of the name of Candragupta in the Mahābhāṣya.

d. With the mention of the Mauryas as having flourished before Patañjali's time.

And c. and d. together show that he lived at a time sufficiently close to the Mauryas in order that they might become the subject of his thought.

e. With Kalhaṇa's statement about the revival of the study of the Mahābhāṣya in the reign of Abhimanyu.

f. With the eventful account given by Bhartṛhari who lived in the first half of the seventh century, and with the reverent manner in which he speaks of Patañjali's work.

No later date can be assumed without doing violence to one or more of these passages and statements; that is, without saying that a passage does not mean what it naturally means, or that the statement is unfounded, incredible, or false. And all of them harmonize so thoroughly with my hypothesis and, taken collectively, form such a conclusive body of evidence, that I feel myself fully justified in concluding this rather long reply to Professor Peterson with those words of mine with which he began his attack, "Patañjali's date, B. C. 150, may now be relied on."

DATE OF PATAÑJALI No. II: BEING A SECOND REPLY TO PROFESSOR PETERSON.

[ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED BY SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR HIMSELF AND PRINTED AT EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA, BOMBAY, 1885].

Dr. Peterson drew me into a controversy by publishing a Note on the Date of Patañjali, in which he discussed Professor Goldstücker's views and mine, and asking me how, in my opinion, the matter stood in the light of what he had written. I had no option but to take up the challenge. I also thought this was a good opportunity to discuss fully the historical significance of the important passages pointed out by Goldstücker and myself, and to bring together all the available evidence for the date of Patañjali and also of Pāṇini. I therefore wrote a long and, as Dr. Peterson himself styles one part of it,—whatever may be the sense intended by him— an "elaborate" reply. After waiting for about three months, Dr. Peterson has now published a reply to me.[1] In this, however, he discusses the sense of the least important of the passages, in his translation of which I pointed out some faults; and unceremoniously dismisses the main question and disposes of all I have said on it with the remark, "I think the whole argument a most unsafe one," without giving himself the trouble of entering at all into the merits of that argument. This is indeed a very easy way of disposing of great literary questions; but it is not one to which the scholar, born to a hard and a plodding lot, can afford to resort. The controversy has thus assumed a shape in which no good can be expected to come out

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1. This reply is contained in the " Prefatory " Remarks to the separate reprint of Prof. Peterson's Papers on the Aucityālaṁkāra of Kṣemendra, the Date of Patañjali, and An Inscription from Kotah, printed at Bombay, 1885. Prof. Peterson's " Preface in Reply to Professor Bhandarkar " in this booklet is dated 25th August 1885, and extends to eighteen pages. [N. B. U.]

of it; and I should have said nothing with reference to Peterson's reply, had he not in his desire to take 'sweet revenge' yielded to the temptation of discovering "a capital error" in one of my former publications on the subject, and of accusing me of having mis-apprehended Nāgojibhaṭṭa's meaning. As it is unquestionable that this discovery and this accusation are the result of Peterson's own palpable mis-apprehension of Nāgojibhaṭṭa's meaning and his failure, as I now see it, to catch the main point of the passage in Patañjali, the sense of which he has been discussing with me, I must once more argue the matter with him. I will begin by putting before the reader for reference the passage from Patañjali and the comments on it:

Pāṇini—जीविकार्थे चापण्ये।

Patañjali —अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति। किं कारणम्। मौर्येर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः। भवेत्तासु न स्यात्। यास्त्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति।

Kaiyata —यास्त्वेता इति। याः परिगृह्य गृहाद्गृहमटन्ति तास्वित्यर्थः। यास्तु विक्रीयन्ते तासु न भवति। शिवकान्विक्रीणीत इति।

Nagojibhatta—मौर्या विक्रेतुं प्रतिमाशिल्पवन्तः। तैरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः। विक्रेतुमिति शेषः। अतस्तासां पण्यत्वात्तत्र प्रत्ययश्रवणप्रसङ्ग इति भावः। तत्र प्रत्ययश्रवणमिष्टमेवेति वदन्सूत्रस्योदाहरणं दर्शयति भवेदित्यादि यास्त्वेता इति च। संप्रति पूजार्थाः संप्रति स्वनिर्माणसमकालमेव फलजनिका या पूजा जीविकाप्रदत्वेन तदर्था इत्यर्थः। तदाह याः परिगृह्येति।

The first thing to be discussed is Dr. Peterson's translation of स्कन्दो विशाखः. Dr. Peterson's words in his Note or first paper are :— "But a reference to any dictionary will show that such a meaning is one of the best authenticated senses of the word विशाखः. स्कंदो विशाखः means 'A Skanda in act to shoot.'" I looked into the St. Petersburg Lexicon and Monier Williams' Dictionary for the word विशाख as directed, and found what I have stated. It certainly is no fault of mine, if I find in the Dictionaries "a certain explanation of the word with a second-hand quotation," &c.

Böhtlingk and Roth, as well as Monier Williams, give "a certain attitude in shooting" as the sense of the word विशाख ; and I told Peterson that विशाख with this sense could not be taken as an adjective to स्कन्दः, as certainly it cannot. He however now directs me to look out the word वैशाख ; and under that word I do find the two passages mentioned by him, as well as the explanation that वैशाख also means "a certain attitude in shooting;" and the passages show nothing more than that. But does this serve as a warrant to take विशाख as an adjective meaning "one in that particular attitude?" वैशाख is a derivative from विशाख and means "belonging to or relating to Viśākha," that is, the word means that particular attitude in shooting which was attributed to the god Viśākha. The word वैशाख occurs in Hemacandra's Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi, and this is the derivation given by him in his explanation of that word in his commentary on the work—विशाखस्य स्कन्दस्येदं वैशाखम्. Hemacandra, of course, identifies the god स्कन्द with विशाख, the two having in later times come to be considered as the names of the same god.---Hemacandra's Thesaurus is referred to by Böhtlingk anu Roth, though not the Commentary. Thus, though वैशाख means "an attitude in shooting," there is no possibility of विशाख meaning "one in that attitude," i. e. of being used as an adjective in view of the explanation of विशाख contained in the Commentary on Amara referred to in the St. Petersburg Lexicon, and of the derivation of वैशाख given by Hemacandra.

Then Dr. Peterson goes on :—"On another small point too here Bhandarkar does me some wrong. He does not understand why I reject the reading शिवः before स्कन्दः 'unless the reason be that it goes against the translation which' I have 'worked myself into believing to be correct.' It would be a legitimate retort to say that Bhandarkar reads Candragupta-sabhā against Kielhorn, in the note on Pānini I. 1. 68, because the omission of that word might be fatal to the edifice Bhandarkar has raised on it." The retort is by no means legitimate, though of course I do not grudge Dr. Peterson the pleasure he evidently

feels in making it. There is very little or no resemblance between the two cases. Dr. Peterson's evidence for the omission of शिवः when he first wrote, was, according to his statement, one Manuscript out of the eight collated by Dr. Kielhorn and the India Office Photozincograph of Kaiyaṭa. But Peterson made a mistake when he considered these as two different Manuscripts ; for they are really one. He did not see that that manuscript collated by Dr. Kielhorn, which does not contain शिवः, is called by him 'g.' And from the Preface to the First Volume of his edition we see that 'g' is the India Office Photozincograph of Kaiyaṭa. Thus then Peterson had only one Manuscript against seven to support his reading, while my reading चन्द्रगुप्तसभा was supported by four MSS. out of six collated by Dr. Kielhorn ; and the evidence of the Kāśikā and the fact of Patañjali's giving two instances of a correlative case were decidedly in its favour. Peterson also conjectured Kaiyata did not read शिवः, but he gave no reason whatever. On the other hand, it would appear that his example शिवकाग्निक्रीणीते was framed with the particular object of distinguishing that form from the शिवः occurring in Patañjali. As to the two new Manuscripts Peterson speaks of, I have got against them two which read शिवः, viz. one from Benares belonging to Rao Saheb Narayan Vishnu Bapat and generously presented by him to me. It contains the Bhāṣya, Pradipa, and Pradīpoddyota. The other, which also contains the three works, is Numbers 330-332 of Collection A of 1881-82, deposited in the Deccan College.

In all this defence of the "shooting Skanda," Dr. Peterson quietly leaves out of sight the phrase स्कन्दविशाखौ pointed out by me as occurring in the Bhāṣya on VIII. 1. 15, from which it is unquestionable that Patañjali himself understood by the word विशाख 'a god of that name.' If another passage is wanted in which also Patañjali renders it plain that the word is the name of a god, it will be found under Pāṇini, VI. 3. 26. Here too we have स्कन्दविशाखौ which is a Dvandva compound meaning 'the two gods Skanda and Viśākha.' To persist in interpreting a word in Patañjali as meaning something totally different from

what Patañjali himself says it means is a feat requiring courage and boldness, which Peterson has shown himself to possess.

Before proceeding further, I must state that I did not fully understand Dr. Peterson's translation of the passage under discussion on the last occasion. Though, of course, there were some mistakes, still I thought he had understood the argument generally according to Nāgojibhaṭṭa's view of it. But I now see that this is not the case. Though I do not agree with Nāgojibhaṭṭa on one point, still, a great grammarian as he was and familiar with his subject, it is impossible that he should not see the main point of Patañjali's argument. But Peterson has totally mis-apprehended it. His view is so much out of the way that without more explanation than was contained in his first paper, it was not possible for me to understand it. And even on the present occasion it has cost me a good deal of trouble to ascertain it clearly. Dr. Peterson does understand 'Skandaḥ' to be an image brought forward to show that Pāṇini's rule is violated in that instance. But it is violated according to him because the image "may or may not be for sale." From what follows and precedes, Peterson seems to mean by this expression that images have in them the possibility of being sold. The phrase शिवः स्कन्दो विशाखः contains, according to him, not according to me, as he supposes, "instances or an instance, of a form which, as denoting an image, is primâ facie incorrect under the rule." "It is notorious that images are vendible things." Thus Peterson means, what he afterwards says in express words, that "all idols are in their nature vendible"; and, therefore, we at once see that Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ and Viśākhaḥ violate Pāṇini's rule. This is the germ of the whole mistake. Then, says he, "such names of idols then as Śiva, Skanda, Viśākha are for the matter in hand colourless. They do not of themselves tell us whether the objects of which they are the names—that is idols in general—are Paṇya or Apaṇya, vendible or not vendible. What then is it that raises the presumption, which it is necessary to notice, that all idols are in their nature vendible? The answer to this query lies in the

phrase मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभि: &c." So that, according to Peterson, Patañjali's query is "To what is it due, why is it that 'idols in general,' i. e., 'all idols are in their nature vendible'?" And the answer is, "because it is for gain that the Mauryas make images." And herein lies Peterson's radical error. In the next sentence Patañjali means to say, according to Peterson, that "vendible images made by the Mauryas are as a class" excluded from the operation of the "general rule which enjoins the omission of affix Ka"; that is, their names must all have the termination Ka. But such of the vendible images as "are from the beginning intended for worship and not for sale" come under the rule and have not the affix. This is the sense of the last sentence.

(1) Now, if images are notoriously vendible things, if "they may or may not be for sale," if Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ and Viśākhaḥ are primā facie incorrect under Pāṇini's rule, why is it that Patañjali asks किं कारणं sc. न सिध्यति, i. e. "why are the forms Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ, Viśākhaḥ, incorrect under the rule?" But Peterson thinks that the meaning of this query is, "why is it that all idols are in their nature vendible?" What have you got to do with *all idols*? Whence do you get them? How does any question arise about them? Do Patañjali's words, which are perfectly plain, mean that? The question is only about *three* idols and not *all*. And what is the necessity of accounting for the fact that all idols are in their nature vendible? The question does not hang at all on the reason of the fact, but on the fact itself. We have nothing whatever to do with the reason. The whole point is, the use of the word अपण्य in the Sūtra makes the forms शिव: स्कन्दो विशाख: incorrect. How they became incorrect under the rule in consequence of the use of that word is what is required to be shown, i. e. it should be shown that while the operation prescribed in the sūtra, viz. the dropping of Ka, is done here, one of the conditions of the operation, viz. अपण्यत्व or invendibility, is absent; i. e. that the images expressed by those forms are Paṇya or vendible. And it is also necessary to decide whether the forms are really incorrect. This is the meaning of the word

and no other meaning is possible. Now Peterson would object, saying, 'What is the necessity of showing the images to be vendible and the forms to be incorrect ? It is notorious that images are vendible things and the forms are therefore, of course, incorrect.' My first emphatic reply is, I am under no obligation to tell you why it is necessary to show this; but there can be no doubt that Patañjali himself does admit the necessity and asks why they are incorrect. His words mean that, and can mean nothing else. My next reply is, you mis-understand the word Paṇya when you say that the vendibility of images is such a notorious and plain matter that it does not require to be shown. When you say, " idols have been sold from the beginning and are sold now : and the supply will doubtless continue so long as the demand shall last, " all you mean is that images possess the possibility of being sold. Paṇya does not mean a thing which possesses the possibility of being sold. If that is what you mean by Paṇya and the English word 'vendible,' the very clothes that you or I have now on our bodies are Paṇya; for clothes have been sold from the beginning and are sold now, &c. But I should consider it an insult if anybody so characterized my clothes. The sense of the word Paṇya, therefore, is *a thing that is intended to be sold, that is for sale.* The definition in the Kāśikā is : विक्रीयते यत्तत्पण्यम्. The clothes I wear were Paṇya before I got them from a shop, are not paṇya now, and would be Paṇya again if I were reduced to destitution, which God forbid, and should be obliged to sell them. Just then, as you cannot say, when a shirt is spoken of, that it is paṇya or vendible in this sense, i. e. 'exposed for sale,' so when certain images are named, it does not necessarily follow that they are paṇya. Hence the necessity of showing that they are so ; and hence the question किं कारणम्. The answer is and must be contained in the next clause; मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः. That answer, according to Nāgojibhaṭṭa, is that they are Paṇya because these are images exposed by the Mauryas for sale ; and according to my independent translation, they are Panya because images *like them* were sold or exposed for sale by the Mauryas

who wanted to raise money. "It is for gain that the Mauryas make images," which is Peterson's translation, cannot possibly be the answer to the query.

The difference between Nagojibhaṭṭa and myself here is that according to himself the Siddhāntin who asks the question किं कारणम् and the Pūrvapakṣin who answers it by saying मौर्यैर्हिर° &c., both understand the word Paṇya in its correct or proper sense, viz., 'something exposed for sale' (विक्रीयते यत्तत्पण्यम्); while according to my view, the Siddhāntin takes it in its correct sense, and the Pūrvapakṣin resorts to the incorrect sense which Peterson seeks to attach to it, viz., 'the possibility of being sold,' which a thing comes to have on account of other things of the class being 'exposed for sale,' and thus wrongly brings Paṇyatva or vendibility on the three images. The Pūrvapkṣin is in the remainder of the passage told by the Siddhāntin that because certain things are 'sold' or 'exposed for sale,' that is, are Paṇya, it does not follow that those of the class that are under actual worship are Paṇya, i. e. paṇya does not mean 'the possibility of being sold.' You (the Pūrvapakṣin) attach that sense to the word and say that Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ, Visakhaḥ are Paṇya because the Mauryas sold such images, and consequently the forms should have the affix Ka. The images sold by the Mauryas being Paṇya in the correct sense, their names may have the affix (भवेत्तासु न स्यात्); but that does not make these Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha, which are under actual worship, Paṇya; i. e. again, Paṇya does not mean 'the possibility of being sold,' and consequently Pāṇini's rule must apply, and no affix is wanted for these forms, and they are correct (यास्त्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति). It will be seen from this why it is that the Pūrvapakṣin resorts to the Maurya kings to bring Paṇyatā in the sense of 'possibility of being sold,' on Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha, and to any ordinary image-seller. Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha were images under actual worship, and no ordinary image-seller sells them. The Maurya kings must have sold images under actual worship, and hence they are spoken of. This independent interpretation of mine I have put into

Sanskrit in the shape of a commentary on the passage in Patañjali under discussion, and I give it at the end [as an Appendix].[1]

Nagojibhaṭṭa, on the other hand, regarding the Pūrvapakṣin's and Siddhāntin's sense of the word Paṇya to be the same, viz., the correct sense 'exposed for sale,' makes the Pūrvapakṣin say that those particular images are Paṇya because they are images exposed for sale by the Mauryas, who were certain images-makers (मौर्यां......शेष:). This the Siddhāntin admits, and therefore agrees with the Pūrvapakṣin that Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha should have the affix Ka (अतस्तासां......मिष्टमेव). And the Siddhāntin goes on to say that the images dedicated for such worship immediately after manufacture as brings in grains are the examples of the rule; i. e. their names drop the termination Ka.

(2) The true sense of the word Paṇya being that given above the query, 'Why is it "that all idols are in their nature vendible"?' which Peterson puts into the mouth of Patañjali is absurd. All idols are not vendible, i. e. 'exposed for sale.'

(3) If according to Peterson's translation of भवेत्तासु न स्यात्, Pāṇini's rule does not apply to vendible images as a class, i. e. to all images, and consequently their names should take the termination Ka, upon what authority is it that such of these images as are intended for worship from the beginning are brought under the rule, as Peterson does by his translation of यास्त्वेता: &c.? Peterson does admit that these images form a part of the class of vendible images. The possibility of being sold attaches to them also. Peterson's argument, "Idols have been sold from the beginning, and are sold now," &c., applies to them equally with the images शिव : स्कन्दो विशाख:. And if it does not, why should it apply to शिव: स्कन्दो विशाख:? If these are Paṇya or vendible primā facie, they also must be in accordance with Peterson's sense of the word. Pāṇini's Sūtra about dropping of Ka cannot therefore apply to them. The word अपण्य in the Sūtra must prevent its application to them. We have no Vārtika or Iṣṭi here, adding to or amending Pāṇini's rule and directing us to drop the

1. N. B. U.

affix, though the images intended for worship are vendible. We have simply a Vyākhyāna of Pāṇini's Sūtra. And thus the result according to Peterson's interpretation will be that Pāṇini's Sūtra has no instance and is vain. According to Nāgojibhaṭṭa's and my way of taking it, the images being under worship are not Paṇya or 'for sale,' and hence Pāṇini's Sūtra applies and the Ka is dropped.

(4) Again, if images are notoriously vendible and consequently it is not necessary to show that they are vendible, is it not equally notorious that the manufacturers of idols make the idols with a view to gain, and not from disinterested motives? What then is the necessity of telling us, according to Peterson's way of taking it, that "all images are vendible, because it is for gain that the Mauryas make images"?

(5) The whole point of the passage in Patañjali, according to Dr. Peterson, must be this. Images being in their nature vendible, such forms as Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ, &c., are incorrect, i. e., they should have the suffix ka. But though all images are vendible, such of them as are from the beginning intended for worship, should be brought under Pāṇini's rule, and Ka should not be added to their names. Now, the sense of the first of these two sentences is according to Peterson brought out by the clause अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति । शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति and of the second by यास्त्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति. What then is the necessity for the matter in hand of the intervening clauses? The first of these means, according to him, "It is for gain that the Mauryas make images." What has this got to do with the matter? The second (भवेत्तासु न स्यात्) means, Pāṇini's rule does not apply to images which are, all of them, in their nature vendible, and thus they should take Ka. Do we not know this already, according to Peterson, and has he not assumed this in interpreting the first clause? Why then are we told this again?

(6) Peterson admits that we have first a doubt thrown on the correctness of the forms शिवः स्कन्दो विशाखः. This doubt must be

cleared and it should be decided whether the forms are correct or incorrect. If that is not done the result will be that the question is about one thing and the decision about quite another, i. e. the उपक्रम and उपसंहार will be inconsistent. In Peterson's translation this decision of the original question nowhere appears, one thing is said first, and quite another afterwards. It will thus be seen that Peterson's interpretation of the query, the answer, and what follows, i. e. of the whole passage, is entirely wrong. He does not understand the argument.

I have already given the general sense of Nāgojibhaṭṭa's comment, but since, according to Peterson, in giving its substance in 1873 I committed "a capital error," and since, from a "misapprehension" of its sense I have not, according to the same authority, "yet shaken myself free," it is necessary that I should discuss it more particularly. The reader will kindly look at the passage given before. Dr. Peterson's explanation is :—"We must, says Nāgojibhaṭṭa, understand the word विक्रेतुम् after प्रकल्पिता :." Good. But you should understand that here ends Nāgojibhaṭṭa's explanation of मौर्यैर्हि......ल्पिता: and that his explanation of the passage is that these images, Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha, were exposed for sale by the Mauryas and not that "images are made by the Mauryas for gain," as you take it. "The images referred to are therefore vendible, and the occasion for the suffix Ka presents itself." This is a translation of अतस्तासां पण्यत्वात्तत्र प्रत्ययश्रवणप्रसङ्ग इति भाव :. The translation is correct so far as the words go, except that 'vendible' means 'for sale,' of which, however, Peterson has no conception. But what are "the images referred to" which is your translation of तासाम् ? Are they "the images in genetal" made by the Mauryas for gain which you have supposed or शिवः स्कन्दो विशाखः ? They cannot be images in general, for there is no question here, as I have already explained about "images in general" or "all images." And images in general or all images cannot be vendible or 'exposed for sale,' while those referred to by Nāgojibhaṭṭa are spoken of by him as

Paṇya. The question is about the correctness of the forms शिवः स्कन्दो विशाखः and it is their पण्यत्व that is required to be shown in order to make good the position that they are incorrect. By अतस्तासां पण्यत्वात्, therefore, Nāgojibhaṭṭa means to say that (अतः) for this reason, viz. that given in Patañjali's statement मौर्यैर्हिरण्या-र्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः explained by Nāgoji, (तासां) their, i. e. of शिव, स्कन्द, विशाख, (पण्यत्वात्) Paṇyatva is established. Now अतः referring to the whole statement मौर्यै......ताः and that statement containg the Hetu or reason, the ते of तासां whose Paṇyatva is establihed by that reason cannot be referred to anything contained in that statement which is the hetu or reason. Hence also तासाम् must refer to शिवः स्कन्दो विशाखः. It will be seen that Nāgojibhaṭṭa speaks here of vendibility being established or proved, while according to Peterson it does not require to be proved. Peterson therefore sets Nāgoji at defiance.

Peterson then goes on with the explanation of Nāgojibhaṭṭa. "In the two clauses that follow, beginning respectively with भवेत् and यास्त्वेताः Patañjali first (भवेत् । तासु न स्यात्) accepts the preposition that the occasion for the suffix has presented itself, and, secondly, (यास्त्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थाः तासु भविष्यति) shows how nevertheless his rule is not of none effect." This is a translation or explanation of तत्र प्रत्ययश्रवणमिष्टमेवेति वदन्सूत्रस्योदाहरणं दर्शयति भवेदित्यादि यास्त्वेता इति च. Now this translation is open to the same objection as Peterson's translation of Patañjali's original, viz. if there is an occasion for the suffix, there is nothing that can prevent it, and the rule *is* of none effect. There is also a special objection. In the last sentance Peterson has translated प्रत्ययश्रवणप्रसङ्गः by "the occasion for the suffix Ka has presented itself" ; and in this sentence प्रत्ययश्रवण-मिष्टमेव also he translates in just the same words. Is there no difference between प्रसङ्गः and इष्टमेव ? There is very great difference. प्रसङ्ग shows 'the occasion for a thing,' and इष्टमेव the 'things becoming an actual fact.' The proper translation is, "Patañjali says (in भवेत्तासु न स्यात्) that the termination is of course wanted or should be used *there* and (in यास्त्वेताः) he points out the examples of Pāṇini's rule." The termination is, of course, wanted

or should be used *there*. Where? *There*, where in the last sentence he speaks of an occasion for it, consequent on Paṇyatva or vendibility. Whose paṇyatva? तासाम्, that is of the images. What images? Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ, Viśākaḥ, which are the subject of the discussion and the Paṇyatva of which is established in the last sentence. The actual use of the termination cannot be spoken of as इष्टैव or "of course wanted" in the case of the merely hypothetical images or images in general understood by Peterson; and that we have nothing to do with images in general I have said several times. The termination is therefore of course wanted, or should be used in these cases; that is, the correct forms are शिवकः, स्कन्दकः, विशाखकः; and therefore शिवः स्कन्दो विशाखः which were brought forward as in use, and which were the names of images exposed for sale by the Mauryas, as stated before, are incorrect, i. e. Pāṇini's rule is set aside in their case. Thus is the original question decided; and this is plainly what Nāgojibhaṭṭa makes Patañjali say; there can be no question whatever about it, and this is exactly what I stated in 1873. Yet Dr. Peterson says:—"In 1873 Bhandarkar took Patañjali to mean that Pāṇini's rule is arbitrarily set aside in the case of images sold by the Mauryas, so that forms not valid are nevertheless in use. 'What Patañjali means to say is that the termination Ka should be applied to the names of the images sold by the Mauryas, according to Paṇini's rule; but the rule is set aside in this case, and the wrong forms Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha are used'.[1] This is a capital error, as Bhandarkar now sees. That it is in accordance with the native commentators is a view of it due, I believe, to a misapprehension of Nāgojibhaṭṭa's meaning, from which Bhandarkar has not yet shaken himself free." Is it not perfectly clear that Peterson himself, when he says this, has no conception whatever of the matter? He has totally misunderstood the point in Patañjali's passage, and interprets Kaiyaṭa and Nāgojibhaṭṭa in accordance with that misconception; and thus

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1. This is a quotation from Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's paper of 1873.

confidently pronounces my former translation of Nāgojibhaṭṭa, which is unquestionably correct, to be "a capital error." And yet with a charming simplicity and an unsuspecting belief in his own powers, Peterson takes credit to himself for having given me hints in my indepenpent translation of the passage. For says he:—"In other respects, however, Bhandarkar's version of 1873 is very defective, a fact which in fairness should not be lost sight of when comparing my version with that with which Bhandarkar has now followed it." Dr. Peterson evidently means that his version has suggested improvements to me in my former version. I repudiate the insinuation entirely. It was impossible to derive any hints from a version in which I pointed out several mistakes and which, on the last occasion, I took as agreeing as regards the main point with Nagojibhaṭṭa, because the connection between the different sentences was not distinctly given, and which, now that Dr. Peterson has given more explanation, I see to be entirely away from the point and wrong from top to bottom. My readers will have seen and will see if they have the patience to go to the end of this paper, how little ground there is for Peterson's taking credit to himself for having corrected Goldstücker, and given me hints. I must not omit to add that Dr. Peterson need not have searched the volumes of the Indian Antiquary for my explanation of Nagojibhaṭṭa's view. That explanation is given in my last Reply to him and it occurs even in the passage which he has quoted in his Paper under review.

I will now notice Peterson's defence of the remaining grammatical and other errors pointed out by me in his translation on the last occasion. When I called attention in my last article to Peterson's having translated the past passive participle प्रकल्पिताः by the present tence "make," I, of course, did not mean he committed a schoolboy error; but that the past tense of प्रकल्पिताः was an important point in the argument and consequently should be prominently noticed. But let us hear the defence. "There is no restriction to time present, past or future in my

English sentence, any more than there is in the Sanskrit so-called 'past passive participle,' प्रकल्पिताः." I admit there is no restriction to time present, past or future in the English sentence "The Mauryas make images;" but that is because it contains a general truth; and general truths are always represented by the present tense, and never by the past. You must always say "Elephants *have* trunks," but never "*had* trunks." The Sanskrit प्रकल्पिताः is a past passive participle, and as indicating past time it can never be used to express a general truth, and can apply only to a *particular* time and that particular time a *past* time. Therefore what is only true at a particular time cannot be a general truth. This is the difference between the present and past time in his English "Mauryas make images" and the Sanskrit प्रकल्पिताः. Peterson tries to get rid of the distinction by the contention that "for gain" is the predicate in his sentence "It is for gain that the Mauryas make images" and "make images" forms part of the clause which is used as the subject. But the subject clause "the Mauryas make images" is nevertheless a general proposition, and the distinction cannot be got rid of. But, says he, there is no restriction to a particular time in the Sanskrit "so-called past passive participle प्रकल्पिताः". Why? Is it not a past participle and does it not express past time? If it does not, I must say Peterson follows a Sanskrit grammar and literature unknown to me and, I have no hesitation in saying, to all Sanskrit Scholars. But, says Dr. Peterson, he would "prefer now to translate 'images are made by the Mauryas for gain,'" and is "confident that the so-called past passive participle in Sanskrit is the proper translation of 'made' here." Again he says his first translation "'Mauryas make images for gain' is only a more idiomatic rendering of the same thing as 'images are made by the Mauryas for gain.'" What is all this? 'Pots are made of earth.' The Sanskrit past passive participle is the proper translation of 'made' here. Therefore मृत्तिकाया घटाः कृताः is the proper translation of that sentence. But that sentence is the same as 'They make pots of earth'; therefore

that is the Sanskrit translation of this sentence. Similarly the proper translation of ' Horned animals ruminate ' is शृङ्गिभी रोमन्थायितम् or रोमन्थः कृतः ; of ' man sees colour by the eye ', मनुष्येण चक्षुषा रूपं दृष्टम् and of ' water removes thirst, ' उदकेन तृडपनीता. That is to say, Peterson is confident that we should teach our pupils that general truths might be translated into Sanskrit by the past passive participle which implies " no restriction to time past, present or future " !

And notwithstanding all this Peterson immediately afterwards states that " प्रकल्पिता. denotes no more than that the action of making is to be conceived as completed. " Is the action of making to be conceived as completed in the English phrase " the Mauryas make images ?" Certainly not. If so, your translation of अर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः by " make images " must be wrong. Now if the action is represented as completed in the phrase मौर्यैः ......प्रकल्पिताः, was it not completed before Patañjali wrote or spoke those words? It must be. Then was it not *past* with reference to the time when he wrote, and *may* it not have been *past* with reference to that time by any number of years, say two or three centuries ? The answer must be "yes." If so, this is all that I contended for ; and your " traversing directly my contention " means nothing. Contrasted with the word संप्रति as it is, प्रकल्पिताः must show a past action that took place a long time before Patañjali. And having been represented as completed with reference to the time when Patañjali wrote, has the action not been referred to a particular time ? If so, what is the meaning of your first statement that the Sanskrit so-called " past passive participle प्रकल्पिताः " involves " no restriction to time present, past, or future" ? One who endeavours to defend the indefensible must fall into such contradictions.

To my contention that एताः in यास्त्वेताः cannot mean " whichever of these; " for it is either the genitive or locative that has that sense and not the nominative, Peterson's reply is, he will " substitute for एताः its antecedent अर्चाः " and then the meaning

will be " whichever images. " But this is simply grammatical jugglery, and will deceive nobody who is not a simpleton. Why do you substitute it ? Patañjali's word is एताः and you must interpret that and nothing else. And do you really think you have given us all we had before, when you give us only the antecedent अर्चाः ? Does not एताः mean ' these, ' i. e., such as are ' nearer to the speaker than others. ' Do you give us that sense when you substitute अर्चाः ? You surely cannot say you do. And what is it that you get after all this operation ? 'The Mauryas make images for gain. To those the rule does not apply and Ka must be appended. But *whichever images* are intended for worship come under the rule,' &c. If this is the construction, one would naturally take ' whichever images ' in the last sentence to be different images from those made by the Mauryas, as Nāgojibhaṭṭa and I take them ; especially because the assertion with reference to the images in the last sentence is directly the opposite of that in this. But this would cut off the ground from below Peterson's feet. For his idea is that these last images are to be included among those made by the Mauryas. This sense you have no chance of securing unless you allow the demonstrative to stand and at the same time mistranslate it as "of these." Thus this grammatical jugglery, like other species of it, recoils on the person practising it.

I will ask my reader to be good enough to consider this point. Patañjali uses the word तासु and in the same breath the word एताः (भवेत्तासु न स्यात् । यास्त्वेताः &c.). तद् is the remote demonstrative, and means ' that, ' while एतद् is the near demonstrative and means ' this. ' Is it possible that by these two inconsistent pronouns he should demonstrate or point out the same preceding thing, especially when the assertions, as I have stated, are contradictory of each other ? " Mauryas make images. To *those* the rule does not apply. But of *these* whichever are intended &c., to them the rule does apply." Can *those* and *these* here both refer to " images " in the first sentence ? For this reason, and also because without the genitive or locative you cannot have the sense

Peterson requires, the एताः cannot refer to the images made by the Mauryas. Dr. Peterson says :—"He is *fully* supported by Kaiyaṭa and Nāgojibhaṭṭa " in his construction of एताः, but in the note immediately below, this expression is softened into " I *believe* that Kaiyaṭa construes यास्त्वेताः as I do. " Connecting एताः with the images sold by the Mauryas would have the effect, as I have already explained, of making the images used for worship ' vendible images ' at the same time, and of rendering Pāṇini's Sūtra inapplicable to them, and consequently vain and useless. This is a mistake that no native grammarian will make, much less men like Kaiyaṭa and Nāgojibhaṭṭa. And the reason for Peterson's belief is his own utterly groundless conjecture that मौर्याः is meant as the nominative to अटन्ति by Kaiyaṭa. But No ! Peterson *does* give evidence. " I can only note here that in the India Office MS. Nāgojibhaṭṭa seems actually to read ते (i. e. the Mauryas) after याः परिगृह्य in Kaiyaṭa. " Excellent ! What we have got in the India Office MS., the photozincograph of which I have referred to, is तदाह याः परिगृह्यते. Commentators put at the beginning of their comment on a passage of the original the opening words of that passage with इति after them. This is called a Pratīka. Now the Pratīka from Kaiyaṭa given by Nāgojibhaṭṭa in the present case is याः परिगृह्येति. This the copyist of the Manuscript through stupidity or mistake has written as याः परिगृह्यते, and this evident mistake of the man Peterson relies on and uses as evidence to prove that Kaiyaṭa meant मौर्याः to be the nominative of अटन्ति. If याः परिगृह्य ते had been meant by Nāgojibhaṭṭa as Kaiyaṭa's reading, इति would have been put after ते, and we should have had याः परिगृह्य त इति. But we have *not* got it. The Pratīka does occur in the form of याः परिगृह्येति in the manuscript consulted by Goldstücker and in the two mentioned by me before. This speaks for itself.

Kaiyaṭa's note on the passage beginning with यास्त्वेताः, on the contrary, is that "एताः signifies the images which are taken from door to door " ; and they are thus distinguished from those with which the Mauryas are connected in the preceding sentence.

Nāgojibhaṭṭa too disposes of the merchandise of the Mauryas by saying तत्र प्रत्ययश्रवणमिष्टमेवेति वदन् and speaks of other distinct images by सूत्रस्योदाहरणं दर्शयति. Peterson's misapprehension of the main point in Patañjali's passage vitiates his interpretation of Nāgojibhaṭṭa throughout. Then again, I am told that neither of the two takes एताः as I do. No one can be sure of this as regards Kaiyaṭa ; for he does not say that the images taken from door to door for worship were not the Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ, and Viśākhaḥ with which the argument began. Kaiyata not only may have meant them to be the same, but his counter-example शिवकाञ्चिक्रीणाति affords strong evidence that the instance of an image under worship meant by him was the शिवः occurring above. And as to Nāgojibhatta, Peterson tells me nothing new, for I have said in giving my independent translation that I disagree with Nāgojibhatta, and that he has assigned no definite sense to the word एताः i. e. refers it to nothing, neither to the images of the Mauryas, nor to Śivaḥ, Skandah and Viśākhah. Nāgojibhaṭṭa and I agree as to the main point, viz. that Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ and Viśākhaḥ are in the beginning spoken of as incorrect according to Pānini's rule, in consequence of a certain action of the Mauryas which made the images Panya. We also agree that the question about the correctness of these forms has to be decided somehow. Nāgojibhatta thinks the Paṇyatā attaches to the images and cannot be removed ; therefore the forms ought to have Ka. I say that the Panyatā is conferred on them only in an incorrect sense, and is removed by the Siddhāntin. The other points of difference I have given before. This difference between Nāgojibhaṭṭa and me arises from my assigning to तासु and एताः the sense that they have, viz. 'those' or remote from the speaker, and 'these' or near to the speaker. Nāgojibhaṭṭa has not attached to एताः this its definite sense. I also take संप्रति in its usual sense of 'now,' 'in these days,' and contrast it with the past प्रकल्पिताः ; while Nāgojibhaṭṭa explains it as 'immediately after their manufacture,' which sense the word cannot bear, and does not see the contrast. The other reason that I have

given in my last Paper is that when Patañjali raises any question about a rule, he does so by bringing forward correct forms which apparently go against the rule. When in rare cases incorrect forms are brought forward, he tells us at the end of the discussion that they are incorrect by using such an expression as अनभिधानात्.

Dr. Peterson again says : "I feel sure that it (एता:) would have been made to stand before, and not after the adversative particle तु if it had the meaning Bhandarkar now ascribes to it." Why he feels sure he does not tell us. But या एतास्तु, which I suppose he would have, is unidiomatic. The Sanskrit idiom requires तु and such particles to be put immediately after the forms of यद्. Innumerable instances might be given, but I will here quote a few from the Mahābhāṣya itself. यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते कुशलो विशेषे Mahabhāṣya, Edition of Kielhorn, Vol. I. p. 2; यस्तु खल्वेवमसौ Ibid. p. 20 ; यस्य तु विधेर्निमित्तमेव Ibid. Vol. II. p. 332.

In criticizing my translation of 1873 Peterson say:—"I should be more than human if I refrained from adding that in 1873 Bhandarkar gave to the phrase ताम् न स्यात् precisely that reference which he now seeks to give to the admittedly converse phrase यास्त्वेता:." Now that I have explained the correct sense of Nāgojibhaṭṭa, Peterson will see that this is in accordance with his comment. Again, "एता: he naturally then took in the sense he refuses to admit for it now." I did not attach to एता: its definite sense of *these*, following Nāgojibhatta ; but certainly I did not give to it Peterson's meaning 'of these' and refer it to the images made by the Mauryas, if that is what he means by the word "naturally."

As to the main question of Patañjali's date, I have already stated that Peterson attaches no value to what I have set forth in my last papers and re-asserts most emphatically his own view, and makes other vague and general statements. I am therefore not called upon to say anything about them. I must however not omit to notice one point. Peterson says that as for Puṣya

mitra and Candragupta, " he has pointed out that the existence of two princes of these names, reigning at about the same time, is better guaranteed for the fourth century after Christ than for the third before Christ. " So then, according to this authority, the Bhitari Lāṭ Inscription, which is in such a dilapidated condition that no perfectly satisfactory copy has yet been or can be published, possesses a far higher historical value than the works of the Greek historians of Alexander the great and his successors, who speak of Sandracottus or Candragupta as having established a powerful monarchy at Pāṭaliputra about 320 B. C., and the Inscription in which his name occurs, as well as all the Buddhistic, Jaina, and Brahmanic books which mention both him and Puṣpamitra the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty that succeeded the Mauryas. Perhaps Dr. Peterson considers all this literature and the Inscription to be fabricated, or assigns them to the period between 600 and 1000 A. D., or it is quite possibls he never heard about them. Peterson's last paper did not show any appreciation of the value of the name of Candragupta for the determination of the question under discussion. It was Puṣpamitra alone he spoke of and the name Candragupta simply occurred in the translation of a passage from that priceless Inscription, that on the Bhitari Lāṭ along with Kumāragupta, Samudragupta, and others. His coupling the two names together in the present paper is therefore an afterthought, and the statement that it has been done in the first paper is not accurate.

How many of this long list of errors of all sorts are " capital errors" or *very serious* errors I leave it to my readers to judge.

Lastly, I am much obliged to my friend Peterson for his promise to make over the Pātālavijaya to me if it falls into his hands " in view of the effect the Praśasti, " which he is sure it will contain, " may have upon me. " But I would advise my friend to give up the " [*con-*] quest of the Dark Regions " that he has been prosecuting so vigorously of late, and assure him that any number of such books dealing with " the Dark

Regions " are but trash in comparison with that " Ārṣa-grantha " or " Book of Light," the Mahābhāṣya. I shall, therefore, have undoubtedly a stronger claim to Peterson's gratitude than he will have to mine, if I ask my friend Kielhorn to send him a copy of his edition of the Mahābhāṣya with the following note on the title-page in capital letters—

" THIS IS NOT AN ANTHOLOGY. "

APPENDIX.

जीविकार्थेति। पणितुं विक्रेतुं शक्यं पण्यमिति मत्वा शङ्कते तत्रेदमिति। तादृश-पण्यत्वं साधयितुमाह मौर्यैरिति। मौर्याः पुरातनराजविशेषाः पुराणेषु शिलालेखेषु बौद्धादिग्रन्थेषु च प्रसिद्धाः। तैश्च हिरण्येनार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रतिमाः प्रकल्पिताः स्वस-मीहितसंपादनाय नियोजिताः। विक्रीता इत्यर्थः। ततश्च तत्सजातीयत्वादासामपि विक्रेतुं शक्यत्वमिति भावः। न केवलं विक्रेतुं शक्यं पण्यमपि तु विक्रीयते यत्तत्प-ण्यमिति तात्त्विकं पक्षमाश्रित्य समाधत्ते भवेदित्यादि। मौर्यैर्विक्रीतानां पण्यत्वात्ता-सु प्रत्ययश्रवणप्रसङ्गो भवतु नाम। आसां त्विदानींतनीनां शिवस्कन्दविशाखप्रतिमानां जीविकाप्रदत्वेन फलजनिका या पूजा तदर्थानामविक्रीयमाणानां तात्त्विकपण्यत्वाभावा-ल्लुब्भवति॥ ननु सत्स्वपि प्रतिमाविक्रेतृषु प्राकृतेषु शिल्पिषु किमर्थं पण्यतां साधयितुं पुरातनराजविशेषपर्यन्तमनुधावनं पूर्वपक्षिणः। उच्यते। अत्र तावदपूजार्थप्रतिमानां विक्रेतुं शक्यत्वस्य सिद्धतया शङ्कानर्हत्वात्सिद्धान्तिना च कण्ठरवेणोक्तत्वाच्छिवस्कन्दविशाखप्रति-मानां पूजार्थत्वमवगम्यते। तादृशप्रतिमानां विक्रेतृत्वं प्राकृतेषु शिल्पिषु न संभवतीति पूजार्थप्रतिमाप्रकल्पकत्वेन युद्धाद्यनेकदुर्वहराजकार्यसिद्ध्यर्थं कोशवृद्धिं चिकीर्षूणां मौर्या-णामाश्रयणमित्यवधेयम्।

ALLUSIONS TO KṚṢṆA IN PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA.

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOL. III, 1874, pp. 14 ff.].

A Vārtika on Pāṇini, III. 1. 26 teaches that the termination Aya, technically called Ṇic, should be appended to a verbal noun expressive of an event, in the sense of narrating the event. The derivative suffix is to be dropped, and the noun reduced to the form of the original root from which it was derived, and it is to this root that the termination Aya is to be applied. If there is any other noun depending on the verbal noun, it should be put in the accusative or other appropriate case, and governed by the verb in Aya. The example given by Patañjali to illustrate this is : Kaṁsavadhamācaṣṭe—Kaṁsam ghātayati ; i. e., the expression Kaṁsam ghātayati means "He narrates the story of Kaṁsa's being killed."—Now Ghātayati in this instance is, according to the theory of the author of the Vārtika, got by dropping the suffix of Vadha, reducing it to its original form of Han (to kill), appending the termination Aya and making the changes necessary in the case of Han. Another instance given in the Bhāṣya is : Balibandhamācaṣte—Balim bandhayati.—Now Patañjali asks if this rule is applicable only to the settled names of stories, or to all nouns expressive of an event. His answer is to the latter effect, and, thus, one may use the expression Rājānam āgamayati in the sense of " he announces the coming of the king."— This shows that Kaṁsavadha and Balibandha were the settled names of certain current stories. Now in this Vārtika, Kātyāyana notices a usage in Sanskrit common to it with several other languages, in virtue of which the causal form of a root may be used to denote the narration or announcement of an event expressed by the root. The expressions " He causes Kaṁsa to be killed, Bali to be put under restraint, and the king to come," mean " He narrates Kaṁsa's being killed " and " Bali's being put under restraint," and " announces the coming of the king." But though the form,

Ghātayati, Bandhayati, and Āgamayati, are causals of the roots Han, Bandh and Gam with Ā, the author of the Vārtika does not here call them so, and hence the necessity of the new rule he has made. But Patañjali, and perhaps Kātyāyana also eventually, looks upon them as causal forms, and decides that the rule is not required, and that the forms can be arrived at by Pāṇini's general sūtra about the causals: Hetumati ca III. 1. 26. But there is some difficulty as to the Present Tense. In such instances as "Having started from Ujjayinī, he makes the sun rise (Sūryam udgamayati) at Māhiṣmatī (i. e., reaches Māhiṣmatī at sunrise)," the Present Tense is appropriate, since at the time he is in Māhiṣmatī, the sun actually does rise. But its propriety is not so clear in such expressions as "He causes Kaṁsa to be killed," and "He causes Bali to be put under restraint," for it is a long time since Kaṁsa was killed, or Bali restrained. Even here, says Patañjali, the Present Tense is appropriate. For the narration or annountemement of a story or an event may be made in one of three ways :—1st, by representing the story on the stage; 2ndly, by representing it by means of pictures; and 3rdly, by narrating it by word of month :—In the first case, the leader or manager of a dramatic corps does actually cause a person who calls himself Kaṁsa to be killed, and a person who calls himself Bali to be put under restraint. Hence the Present Tense is appropriate. In the second case, the blows of Kaṁsa and Kṛṣṇa are actually seen at the time in the pictures as aimed or received by the two combatants. In the third case the narrators give expression to what they know about them (Kaṁsa and Kṛṣṇa) from their birth to their death, and thus externally manifest what at the time exists internally. And that the things do exist internally or in the mind is shown in this way. They (the narrators) are of various kinds, some are adherents or devotees of Kaṁsa and some of Vāsudeva. Their countenances assume different colours; the faces of some (whose favourite hero is defeated) become dark, the faces of others, red. And in such cases all the three tenses are used by people. For example, they say "Go, Kaṁsa is being killed;" "Go, Kaṁsa is to be killed;" "What is the use of going? Kaṁsa is killed."[1]

This remarkable passage then shows :—

1st—That the stories of the death of Kaṁsa and the subjugation of Bali were popular and current in Patañjali's time.

2nd—That Kṛṣṇa or Vāsudeva was mentioned in the story as having killed Kaṁsa.

3rd—That such stories formed the subjects of dramatic representations, as Purāṇic stories are still popularly represented on the Hindu stage.

4th—That the event of Kaṁsa's death at the hands of Kṛṣṇa was in Patañjali's time believed to have occurred at a very remote time.

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1. Kāty. आख्यानात्कृतस्तदाचष्टे कृल्लुक्प्रकृतिप्रत्यापत्तिः प्रकृतिवच्च कारकम् । Pat. आख्यानात्कृदन्ताण्णिज्वक्तव्यस्तदाचष्ट इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे। कृल्लुक् प्रकृतिप्रत्यापत्तिः प्रकृतिवच्च कारकं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । कंसवधमाचष्टे कंसं घातयति बलिबन्धमाचष्टे बलिं बन्धयति......किं पुनर्यान्येतानि संज्ञाभूतान्याख्यानानि तेभ्य उत्पत्त्या भवितव्यमाहोस्वित्क्रियाख्यानमात्रात् । किं चातः । यदि संज्ञाभूतेभ्य इह न प्राप्नोति राजागमनमाचष्टे राजानमागमयतीति । अथ क्रियाख्यानमात्रं न दोषो भवति । यथा न दोषस्तथास्तु ।

तत्तर्हीदं वक्तव्यम् । न वा सामान्यकृतत्वाद्धेतुतो ह्यविशिष्टम् । न वा वक्तव्यम् । किं कारणम् । सामान्यकृतत्वात् । सामान्येनैवात्र णिज्भविष्यति हेतुमतीति । किं कारणम् । हेतुतो ह्यविशिष्टम् । हेतुतो ह्यविशिष्टमेतद्भवति ।

भवेदिह वर्तमानकालता युक्ता स्यादुज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं संभावयते सूर्यमुद्गमयतीति । तत्रस्थस्य हि तस्यादित्य उदेति । इह तु कथं वर्तमानकालता कंसं घातयति बलिं बन्धयतीति चिरहते च कंसे चिरबद्धे च बलौ । अत्रापि युक्ता । कथम् । ये तावदेते शौभिका नामैते प्रत्यक्षं कंसं घातयन्ति प्रत्यक्षं च बलिं बन्धयन्तीति । चित्रेषु कथम् । चित्रेष्वप्युद्गूर्णा निपतिताश्च प्रहारा दृश्यन्ते कंसस्य च कृष्णस्य च । ग्रन्थिकेषु कथं यत्र शब्दग्रथनमात्रं लक्ष्यते । तेपि हि तेषामुत्पत्तिप्रभृत्या विनाशादृद्धीर्व्याचक्षाणाः सतो बुद्धिविषयान्प्रकाशयन्ति । आतश्च सतः । व्यामिश्रा दृश्यन्ते । केचित्कंसभक्ता भवन्ति केचिद्वासुदेवभक्ताः । वर्णान्यत्वं खल्वपि पुष्यन्ति । केचित्कालमुखा भवन्ति केचिद्रक्तमुखाः । त्रैकाल्यं खल्वपि लोके लक्ष्यते । गच्छ हन्यते कंसः गच्छ घानिष्यते कंसः । किं गतेन हतः कंस इति ।

I now proceed to other passages. One of the Pratyudāharaṇas or counter-examples of the rule in Dr. Goldstücker's passage (Bhāṣya on Pāṇini III. 2. 111) is : Jaghāna Kaṁsaṁ kila Vāsudevaḥ : " Vāsudeva verily killed Kaṁsa." From the context it is clear that this is given as an example, the occurrence mentioned in which is popularly known, but which was not, and could not have been, witnessed by the speaker, i. e., the story was ancient and popular.

Again, we are told by the author of the Mahābhāṣya, under a Vārtika on Pāṇini II. 3. 36, that Kṛṣṇa was not well disposed or friendly to his uncle : Asādhur mātule Kṛṣṇaḥ. In the dissertation on Bahuvrīhi compounds, Pāṇini II. 2. 23, the following occurs in the Mahābhāṣya : Saṁkarṣaṇadvitīyasya balaṁ Kṛṣṇasya vardhatām, "May the power of Kṛṣṇa, assisted by Saṁkarṣaṇa, increase." From this we gather that Saṁkarṣaṇa was his constant companion and assistant, as might have been expected from their relationship. In the Vārtikas that follow Pāṇini, IV. 2. 104, Patañjali gives as instances of IV. 3. 64, Akrūravargyaḥ, Akrūravargīṇah, (i. e. a follower of Akrūra), Vāsudevavargyaḥ, Vāsudevavargiṇah (a follower of Vāsudeva). Akrūra plays a conspicuous part in the story of Kṛṣṇa. Under VI. 3. 6 Patañjali quotes Janārdanas tvātmacaturtha eva (" Janārdana with himself as the fourth," i. e., with three companions) as an apparent exception to the rule. Janārdana is another name of Kṛṣṇa. This and the second passage from the Mahābhāṣya form regular lines in the Upendravajrā metre, while the third and fourth form one-quarter and one-half respectively, of an Anuṣṭubh stanza, from which it would appear that these are lines quoted from an existing poem on Kṛṣṇa.

Not only was the story of Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa current and popular in Patañjali's time, but it appears clearly that the former was worshiped as a god. Pāṇini, in IV. 3. 98, teaches us to append the termination Vun, i. e., Aka, to Vāsudeva and Arjuna to form nouns expressive of the adorer, adherent, or worshipper of

those persons. There is another more general rule (IV. 3. 99) which teaches us to form such derivatives from names of Kṣatriyas. Vāsudeva, being the name of a Kṣatriya, comes under that rule, and the form, made up according to it, is the same as that made up in conformity with this rule. "Why, then," Patañjali asks, "are we told in this Sūtra to apply Vun or Aka to Vāsudeva?" One reason may be, he says, that the word is put in here in order to indicate that in speaking of Vāsudeva and Arjuna together the name of Vāsudeva should always be used first. Or, he goes on, this word Vāsudeva is the name of the Divine Being and not of a Kṣatriya; i. e., Vāsudeva is to be taken here, in his capacity as a god, and not in his capacity as a mere Kṣatriya; for in this latter capacity, the name comes under the other rule.[1]

I have thus brought together seven passages, from a work written in the middle of the second century before Christ, which show that the stories about Kṛṣṇa and his worship as a god are not so recent as European scholars would make them. And to these I ask the attention of those who find in Christ a prototype of Kṛṣṇa, and in the Bible, the original of the Bhagvadgītā, and who believe our Puranic literature to be merely a later growth. If the stories of Kṛṣṇa and Bali, and others which I shall notice hereafter, were current and popular in the second century before Christ, some such works as the Harivaṁśa and the Purāṇas must have existed then.

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1. वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् । किमर्थं वासुदेवशब्दाद्वुन्विधीयते । न गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुल वुञित्येव सिद्धम् । न ह्यस्ति विशेषो वासुदेवशब्दाद्वुञो वा वुनो वा ।......इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं वासुदेवशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातं वक्ष्यामीति । अथवा नैषा क्षत्रियाख्या संज्ञैषा तत्र भगवतः ।

VĀSUDEVA OF PAṆINI IV. III. 98.

[From the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1910, pp. 168ff].

In Part IV of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, for 1909 (p. 1122) Dr. Grierson, referring to a previous note of Professor Kielhorn (Part II of JRAS. for 1908, pp. 502 ff), states the Professor's view to be "that Patañjali therefore implies that here the word 'Vāsudeva' is merely an ordinary proper name, and is not the name of a god". This does not appear to me to be quite what Professor Kielhorn says. For his words are "the word indeed conveys an honorific sense, but would be equally applicable to a human being." Professor Kielhorn, here, does not deny its applicability to a divine being ; but it must be confessed that the trend of his argument is towards making out Vāsudeva to be an ordinary individual. For he says :—(Vāsudeva) "is the proper name of an individual called Vāsudeva . . . In either case the word, 'Tatrabhavataḥ,' by which 'Saṁjñaiṣā' is followed, does not in the least suggest that the personage denoted by the proper name is a divine being." Neither does it, I assert, suggest that he was not a divine being ; and this is plain from Dr. Kielhorn's own statement that the word is equally applicable to a human being. "Equally" with whom? It must be "equally" with divine beings. And certainly the word "Tatrabhavat' means "respected," "revered," "worshipful," and may be applied to men as well as gods. And in the very passage in Patañjali, with which Professor Kielhorn compares the Vāsudeva passage,' "Tatrabhavataḥ" is used of Prajāpati, who is called "Sarva", i. e., "all." Prajāpati can be "all" only in the sense that he is the material cause (उपादान) of all that exists. This sense is assigned to Patañjali's words "सर्वश्च प्रजापतिः" by Kaiyaṭa. Prajāpati therefore is the creator, and to him is applied the epithet "Tatrabhavataḥ." Why not, then, may the same expression be understood to imply that Vāsudeva was a god or a divine being?

I do agree with Professor Kielhorn in thinking that the correct reading is "Tatrabhavataḥ," and not "Tatrabhagavataḥ", which I accepted on a former occasion on the evidence of the Benares edition. But "Tatrabhavat" is applicable equally to gods and men, Patañjali himself having used it in the case of the god Prajāpati.

In all the passages, containing forms of the word 'tatrabhavat" referred to by Professor Kielhorn, except three, the grammatical connexion gives the substantives which are qualified by the epithet "tatrabhavat". In two of these three, the wording of both of which is संज्ञैषा तत्रभवतः, the grammatical connexion does not bring out the substantive qualified by the epithet, and the sense is: "This is the name of the worshipful." Thus stated, the word "worshipful" indicates one who is pre-eminently worshipful, i. e., a god. In the passage under P. IV. II. 25, Prajāpati is mentioned as equivalent to Ka; but in connexion with another argument, and not with that which ends with "संज्ञैषा तत्रभवतः". And this mention enables us to determine in the manner indicated above who it is that is meant by the epithet "worshipful" not followed by any substantive. If the general epithet "worshipful" thus indicates a god in this passage, there is every reason for understanding that that expression indicates a god in the Vāsudeva passage (IV. III. 98).

Vāsudeva is here associated with Arjuna, and in the whole literature in which they are so associated, Vāsudeva is the name of a divine being. And the traditional interpretation of Patañjali's passage is that by "Tatrabhavataḥ" is meant such a being. The instance from the Kāśikā, which I found out for myself when Professor Kielhorn's Note first appeared, has already been given by Dr. Grierson. Kaiyaṭa's explanation is: "नित्यः परमात्मदेवताविशेष इह वासुदेवो गृह्यत इत्यर्थः।" i. e., the sense is, Vāsudeva is to be understood as a certain eternal deity which is the supreme soul. The "Tatrabhavataḥ" occurring in the third passage is taken by Professor Kielhorn as used in an ironical sense. But even here,

since it is used without a substantive, "Tatrabhavataḥ" is understood by Nāgojibhaṭṭa in his explanation of Kaiyaṭa's comment on Patañjali's text as equivalent to Īśvara or god. Īśvara is supposed to have taken upon himself the rôle of an opponent of the Vedas to delude the Daityas, and to have uttered the verse quoted by Patañjali.[1] Thus in all the three passages in which "Tatrabhavataḥ" is not followed by a substantive, i.e., is itself used substantively, the sense is "of God, or a God", on the evidence of Patañjali himself, Kaiyaṭa and Nāgojibhaṭṭa.

Patañjali, for these reasons, and on his evidence Pāṇini also, may be safely taken to speak of Vāsudeva as a divine being. I understood them in this sense in an article I wrote formerly; and propose so to understand them in writing a work for the Grundriss, which I intend doing if my eyesight is restored.

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1 Pat. (Kielhorn's Ed., Vol. I, p. 3) ; प्रमत्तगीत एष तत्रभवत: । Kaiy: प्रमत्तगीत इति । प्रमादेन विप्रतिपन्नत्वेन गीत इत्यर्थः । Nāg. प्रमादेनेति । भावे क्तान्त इति भावः । विप्रतिपन्नत्वेन वेदविषयविप्रतिपत्त्याश्रयत्वेन । तत्त्वं स्वस्मिन्नारोप्य दैत्यवञ्चनाय [illegible] भगवत ईश्वरस्य त [illegible] स न प्रमाणमिति भावः ।

BHAVABHUTI'S QUOTATION FROM THE RĀMĀYAṆA.

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY VOLUME II, 1873, P. 123]

Prof. Weber's Essay on "The Rāmāyaṇa" was translated by Rev. Boyd and published serially in the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, 1872, pp. 120 ff, 172 ff, 239 ff. This translation was also published separately, and the verses under reference are quoted and discussed on pp. 88 ff, of this separate translation = p. 246 b, f., of the Indian Antiquary.—[N. B. U.]

In his Essay on the Rāmāyaṇa, Prof. Weber gives the verses quoted by Bhavabhūti in his Uttara-Rāma-Carita from the last chapter of the Bālakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, and points out corresponding verses in Schlegel's and the Bombay and Serampore Editions, which resemble Bhavabhūti's only in substance. In Gorresio, he says, there is nothing corresponding to them. But about the end of the chapter, immediately previous to the one, to which Prof. Weber refers us, there are these same verses in Gorresio, identical in all respects with those quoted by Bhavabhūti, except apparently in two small words, which are Eva (in the last line of the first verse) and Tu (in the last line of the second verse) in Bhavabhūti and Adhi and Hi in Gorressio. But the difference in the case of the first word at least is rather a difference between Gorresio and the Calcutta Edition of the Uttara-Rāma-Carita, and not between Gorresio and Bhavabhūti ; for in an old MS of the play existing in the Elphinstone College Library I find Adhi instead of Eva.

But while Gorresio's Edition agrees almost throughout with Bhavabhūti in this point, there is a material difference in another. Bhavabhūti quotes the verses from the last chapter of the Bāla-Kāṇḍa, in Gorresio they occur in the last but two, while in Schlegel and the Bombay Edition the corresponding verses, though considerably differing in language, occur in the last. On comparing the several editions, one finds that Bharata's departure to the country of his maternal uncle, which is despat-

ched in five verses in the other Editions, in Gorresio is expanded into almost a chapter of which it forms the first 44 verses. The remaining four verses of this chapter occur in the other Editions after the five verses about Bharata.—The last chapter, again, in Gorresio, which describes Bharata's doings in the country of his uncle, and his sending a message to his father, is wanting in Schlegel and the Bombay Editions. And since these additional *chapters contain no new incident except the sending of the* messenger (which has very little to do with the story), they are propably interpolations.

A NOTE ON MEANING OF GHAṬĀ

(I)

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOLUME I. 1872, P. 128].

The following Note on Ghaṭā was written in response to the request of an officer of the Dinājapur District, who wanted historical information about that District, and in connection therewith had quoted Babu Rājendralāl Mitra's translation of a verse in an Inscription containing the word Ghaṭa, this word being translated by Rājendralāl as " three-fold " or "plural". (Indian Antiquary, Volume I, 1872 p. 127) —[N. B. U.]

Babu Rājendralāl gives no authority for taking Ghaṭā as equivalent to three-fold ; and supposing that were its meaning,- " threefold eight " would be 24. But the instrumental Varṣeṇa is a serious objection, I think, to his interptetation of Kuñjara-Ghaṭā-varṣeṇa,- for if the last word of the compound meant the " year ", and the other two 888, Varṣa ought to be in the locative case. When a noun denoting time is in the instrumental case it indicates the period occupied in doing a thing (Pāṇini II. 3. 6), and thus the sense of the above expression, if it referred to time, would be ' the temple was *constructed in 888 yearss,* ' or at least that it took the 888th year to be constructed. But the construction is awkward, and if it represented a date the compound would be difficult to separate grammatically. I think the expression means " he who pours forth an array of elephants ",— or, if the Va is to be taken as Dha--, which is not unlikely,- ' the defier of the ranks of elephants. ' Varṣamāṇo does not agree with the metre and is consequently inadmissible ; besides the compound would be ungrammatical. The word has two forms Varṣma and Varṣman ; if the former be taken, the final word of the nominative singular of the compound would be Varṣmo, if the latter, Varṣmā, but in neither case Varṣmāno ; but even were it not so the meaning would be " a temple in which there are *bodies* or *carcases* of many elephants. " The idiom of the language does not admit of such a word as " carved " being understood, except when a double sense is intended.

To this Note Babu Rājendralāl replied at Indian Antiquary, Volume I, 1872, pp. 195 f. The following (Second) note is a rejoinder to Rājendralāl's observations contained there. Both letters are by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar himself.—[N. B. U.]

(II)

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOLUME, I, 1872, p. 227].

In reply to Babu Rājendralāl, I must point out that he has given no authority for taking ghaṭā to mean *three*; or if he did so, for taking the expression *three eights* to represent 888, and not 8+8+8 or even 8 x 8 x 8. He says he thinks his interpretation is 'not forced'; but is the word Ghaṭā, which is very indefinite, ever used to signify figures in this way? If the writer meant to express *three*, could he not have used one of the many symbolical expressions for it, instead of a word which simply means 'a collection'? And according to the usual way of expressing numbers in this symbolic way, and to the rule: Aṅkānāṁ vāmato gatiḥ' । if Ghaṭā meant three, would not the expression Kuñjara-Ghaṭā mean 38? And what is the necessity of restricting the 'collection' to three? It may mean any number, even 9, in which case, though a row of nine nines, according to Babu Rājendralāl's way of taking it, may not refer to any era, still the expression may mean 98. Altogether the supposition that the expression represents the date appears to be extremely improbable. The grammatical difficulty the Babu thinks I have myself solved, when I admit the alternative interpretation that "the temple took the 888th year to be constructed." But what one would naturally expect to find in an Inscription is that such and such a building was constructed in such and such a year, and not that it took such and such a year to be constructed. And the phrase that temple took the twentieth or any such year to be constructed is not Sanskrit as it is not English. I admitted the interpretation only so far as the grammar was concerned. The writer has not sinned against grammar in using Bhūṣaṇa as masculine, for abstract verbal nouns ending in Ana only are necessarily neuter but others, signifying the instrument or place of an action, generally take

the gender of the noun qualified. This is clear from the Liṅgā-nuśāsana (Siddhānta -Kaumudī, Calcutta Edition, Volume II, last page). This appears to be more especially the case when the verbal noun has what may be called an Upapada or another noun depending on it. In the Siddhānta-Kaumudī, under Pāṇini III. 3-113 and 117 the instances given are राजभोजनाः शालयः । इध्म-प्रव्रश्चनः कुठारः । गोदोहनी स्थाली । in which nouns in Ana take the gender of the nouns they qualify. Bhūṣaṇa as an abstract noun is neuter, but in the sense of Bhūṣyate Anena it may take any gender. Many verbal nouns in Ana are used by Sanskrit authors in this way. In the present case Bhubhūṣaṇa qualifies Prāsāda, and hence it is masculine.

Babu Rājendralāl supposes a *double entendre* on the ex-pression in question, but such a *double entendre* appears to be purposeless. For the syntactical connection of a word on which such a play is intended is generally the same in both senses, but here in the one sense the compound becomes an epithet of Gauḍapatinā, and in the other, it stands independently.

Babu Rājendralāl calls the compound awkward when inter-preted in the way I have done, but he takes it to be a Bahuvrīhi, which it is not. It is what may be called an Upapada compound; and is to be dissolved thus :- Kuñjarāṇām Ghaṭā = Kuñjara-Ghaṭā; Kuñjara-Ghaṭām Varṣatīti, = Kuñjara-Ghaṭāvarṣaḥ : Pāṇini, III. 2. 1. Neither is it farther from the noun qualified than such epithets are even in such a simple Kāvya as Raghu.

WHITE AND BLACK YAJUR-VEDAS.

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQARY, VOLUME I, 1872, p. 163]

It is worth noticing that the followers of the Black Yajur-veda are almost confined to Southern India, while the predominant or only Veda among the Gauḍas of the North is the White Yajur. The Gujarat people have got a trace of one Śākhā only of the former— the Maitrāyaṇīya. Among the Marathas, the Citpāvana Brahmans are nearly equally divided between the Ṛgveda and the Black Yajur-veda ; while the Deśasthas are Vājasaneyins (followers of the White) and Ṛgvedins. Whether this is to be accounted for by a revolution or some such event, enabling the followers of the White Veda to drive their rivals to the South, or by the supposition of that part of India being the country of the origin of the Black Yajur-veda is not determined. But there is a prophecy in the Agni Purāṇa which represents the White Yajur-veda as a conquering or triumphant Veda, saying that the only Veda that will prevail in the latter part of the Kaliyuga will be the Vājasenayaka[1] ; all others being lost, and the Purohita or priest of Kalki, the king that will overthrow the Mlechchhas, who will have overspread the earth, will be Yājñavalkya[2]. This latter part of the prophecy occurs in other Purāṇas also. Yājña-valkya is the founder or first teacher of the White Yajur-veda.

Why should not a Census be taken of the several Vedas and Śākhās, and of the most important sects of Theosophy or religious philosophy ?

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1. Dasyavaḥ śīlahīnaśca vedo Vājasaneyakaḥ ।

2. Kalki Viṣṇuyaśaḥ-putro Yājñavalkya-purohitaḥ ।

THE VEDA IN INDIA.

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOLUME III, 1874, PP. 132 FF.]

Every Brahmanic family is devoted to the study of a particular Veda, or a particular Śākhā of a Veda; and the domestic rites of the family are performed according to the ritual prescribed in the Sūtra connected with that Veda. The study consists in getting by heart the books forming the particular Veda. In Northern India, where the predominant Veda[1] is the White Yajur, and the Śākhā Mādhyandina, this study has almost died out, except at Banares, where Brahmanic families from all parts of India are settled. It prevails to some extent in Gujarat, but to a much greater extent in the Maratha Country, and in Tailangaṇa there is a large number of Brahmans who still devote their life to this study. Numbers of these go about to all parts of the country in search of Dakṣiṇā, and all well-to-do natives patronize them according to their means, by getting them to repeat portions of their Veda, which is mostly the Black Yajur, with Āpastamba for their Sūtra. Hardly a week passes here in Bombay in which no Tailanga Brahman comes to me to ask for Dakṣiṇā. On each occasion I get the men to repeat what they have learnt, and compare it with the printed texts in my possession. With reference to their occupation, Brāhmaṇas of each Veda are generally divided into two classes, Gṛhasthas and Bhikṣukas. The former devote themselves to a wordly avocation, while the latter spend their time in the study of their sacred books and the practice of their religious rites. Both these classes have to repeat the Saṁdhyā-Vandana or twilight prayers, the forms of which are somewhat different for the different Vedas. But the repetition of the Gāyatrī-mantra Tat-Savitur vareṇyam, &c., five, ten, twenty-eight, or a hundred and eight times, which forms the principal portion of the ceremony, is

1. Compare the Note on the White and Black Yajurvedas on the last page in this Volume.—[N. B. U.]

common to all. The Saṁdhyā-Vandana is performed early in the morning and at sunset by a few pious Brahmans, but the rest do it a little before the morning and evening meals, i. e., from 10 A. M. to 12 noon, and at about 8 P. M. Besides this, a great many perform daily what is called Brahmayajña, which is incumbent on all on certain occasions. This for the Ṛgvedis, consists of the first hymn of the first Maṇḍala, and the opening sentences of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the five parts of the Aitareya Āraṇyayaka, the Yājus-Saṁhitā, the Sāma-Saṁhitā, the Atharva-Saṁhitā, Āśvalāyana Kalpa-Sūtra, Nirukta, Chandas, Nighaṇṭu, Jyotiṣ, Śikṣā, Pāṇini's Grammar, Yājñavalkya Smṛti, Mahābhārata, and the Sūtras of Kaṇāda, Jaimini, and Bādarāyaṇa [1].

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1. Āśvalāyana enjoins the Brahmayajña in the following Sūtra :— अथ स्वाध्यायमधीयीतर्चो यजूंषि सामान्यथर्वाङ्गिरसो ब्राह्मणानि कल्पान्गाथा नाराशंसीरितिहासपुराणानीति । Upon this is based the following, as repeated by the Ṛgvedi Brahmans in these days :—1. अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं &c. up to सचस्वा नः स्वस्तये । (Ṛgv. 1. 1) : 2, अग्निर्वै देवानामवमो विष्णु : परमः । (Ait. Brāh. 1. 1) ; 3. अथ महाव्रतम् । (Ait. 1st Āraṇ) ; 4 एष पन्था एतत्कर्म । (Ait. 2nd Āraṇ.) ; 5. अथातः संहिताया उपनिषत् । (Ait. 3rd Āraṇ,); 6 विदा मघवन्विदा । (Ait. 4th Āraṇ.); 7. महाव्रतस्य पञ्चविंशतिं सामिधेन्यः । (Ait. 5th Āraṇ.) ; 8 इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा । (Yajur-veda Saṁhitā) ; 9 अग्न आयाहि वीतये । (Sāmaveda Saṁh.) ; 10. शं नो देवीरभिष्टये । (Athar. Saṁh.); 11. अथैतस्य समाम्नायस्य । (Āśv. Kalp. S. 12); समाम्नायः समाम्नातः । (Nirukta) ; 13 मयरसतजभनलगसंमितम् । (Chandas) ; 14. गौः । ग्मा । (Nighaṇṭu) ; 15, पञ्चसंवत्सरमयम् । (Jyotiṣ) : 16 अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि । (Śikṣā) ; 17. वृद्धिरादैच् । (Pāṇini) 18. योगीश्वरं याज्ञवल्क्यम् । (Yājñ. Smṛti) 19. नारायणं नमस्कृत्य । (Mahābhārata) ; 20 अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः । (Kaṇāda Sūtra) ; 21. अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा । (Jaimini Mīmāṁsā) ; 22. अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा । (Bādarāyaṇa-Vedānta-Sūtra); तच्छंयोरावृणीमहे गातुं यज्ञाय गातुं यज्ञपतये दैवी स्वस्तिरस्तु न : स्वस्तिर्मानुषेभ्यः । ऊर्ध्वं जिगातु भेषजं शं नो अस्तु द्विपदे शं चतुष्पदे । ॐ नमो ब्रह्मणे नमो अस्त्वग्नये नमः पृथिव्यै नम ओषधिभ्यः । नमो वाचे नमो वाचस्पतये नमो विष्णवे महते करोमि ।. It would be hazardous to affirm that our Brahma-yajña, as recited in these days, was settled in Āśvalāyana's time, but it is evidently based upon his Sūtra quoted above. No. 1

Such Bhikṣukas as have studied the whole Veda, repeat more of the first hymn, and a Khaṇḍa or more of the Brāhmaṇa, thus following the precept of Āśvalāyana : Sa yāvan manyeta tāvada dhītya, " having recited so much as he wishes. " The Brahmayajña of the followers of the other Vedas consists of the first sections of their Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas, and the opening sentences or verses of the other Vedas. The Vedāṅgas and the other works are dispensed with.

The Vedic learning of the Gṛhasthas extends generally thus far only, but that of the Bhikṣukas goes further. Some of these latter are what are called Yājñikas. They follow a priestly occupation, and are skilled in the performance of the sacred rites. They study the manuals of domestic rites based on the several Gṛhya Sūtras. The manual used by and for the Ṛgvedi followers of Āśvalāyana is one composed by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and known by the name of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭī. The Hiraṇyakeśī Yajurvedis use the Maheśvara-bhaṭṭī, composed by Maheśvarabhaṭṭa, and the manual followed by the Āpastambas is the work of one Candracūḍa, while a book of the name of Prayoga-Darpaṇa is used by the Mādhyandinas. There are a few other works of this nature which are occasionally referred to, but the usual practice of the rites is based on these. But a more important class of Bhikṣukas are Vaidikas, some of whom are Yājñikas as well. Learning the Vedas by heart and repeating them in a manner never to to make a single mistake, even in the accents, is the occupation of their life. The best Ṛgvedi Vaidika knows by heart the Saṁhitā, Pada, Krama, Jaṭā, and Ghana of the hymns or Mantra

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corresponds, to his ऋचः, Nos. 2-7 to ब्राह्मणानि, No. 8 to his यजूंषि, No. 9 to सामानि, No. 10 to अथर्वाङ्गिरसः, No. 11, and perhaps the Vedāṅgas from 12 to 17, to कल्पान्, and the rest to गाथा नाराशंसीरितिहासपुरा ' ll I. Of these latter the quotation from the Mahābhārata No. 19 corresponds remarkably to Āśvalāyana's इतिहास, and there is no reason to think this did not form part of the Brahma-yajña repeated in his time.

portion of the Veda, and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka, the Kalpa and Gṛhya Sūtra of Āśvalāyana, the Nighaṇṭu, Nirukta, Chandas, Jyotiṣ and Śikṣā, and Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī on Grammar. A Vaidika is thus a living Vedic Llibrary. The Saṁhitā and Pada our readers will understand ; Krama, Jaṭā and Ghana are different arrangements of the words in the Mantras. All these I show below by an example :—

Saṁhitā

इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे त्रेधा नि दधे पदम् । समूळ्हमस्य पांसुरे ॥

Padas

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
इदम् । विष्णुः । वि । चक्रमे । त्रेधा । नि । दधे । पदम् । समूळ्हम् । अस्य । पांसुरे ॥

Krama

1 2 2 3 3 4 4 5 5 6 6 7 7 7 8
इदं विष्णुः । विष्णुर्वि । वि चक्रमे । चक्रमे त्रेधा । त्रेधा नि । नि दधे । दधे पदम् । पद-
9 10 9 10 11 11
मिति पदम् ॥ समूळ्हमस्य । समूळ्हमिति सम् ऽऊळ्हम् । अस्य पांसुरे । पांसुर इति पांसुरे ॥

Jaṭā

1 2 2 1 1 2 2 3 3 2 2 3 3 4 4 3 3 4
इदं विष्णुर्विष्णुरिदमिदंविष्णुः । विष्णुर्वि वि विष्णुर्विष्णुर्वि । वि चक्रमे चक्रमे वि वि चक्रमे ।
4 5 5 4 4 5 5 6 6 5 5 6 6 7 7 6 6
चक्रमे त्रेधा त्रेधा चक्रमे चक्रमे त्रेधा । त्रेधा नि नि त्रेधा त्रेधा नि । नि दधे दधे नि नि
7 7 8 8 7 7 8 8 9 10 10 9 9 10
दधे । दधे पदं पदं दधे दधे पदम् । पदमिति पदम् । समूळ्हमस्यास्य समूळ्हं समूळ्हमस्य ।
9 10 11 11 10 10 11 11
समूळ्हमिति समूऽऊळ्हम् । अस्य पांसुरे पांसुरेस्यास्य पांसुरे । पांसुर इति पांसुरे ॥

Ghana

1 2 2 1 1 2 3 3 2 1 1 2 3 2 3 3 2 2 3
इदं विष्णुर्विष्णुरिदमिदं विष्णुर्वि वि विष्णुरिदमिदं विष्णुर्वि । विष्णुर्वि वि विष्णुर्विष्णुर्वि
4 4 3 2 2 3 4 3 4 4 3 2 4 5 5 4
चक्रमे चक्रमे वि विष्णुर्विष्णुर्वि चक्रमे । वि चक्रमे चक्रमे वि वि चक्रमे त्रेधा त्रेधा चक्रमे

3 3 4 5 4 5 5 4 4 5 6 6 5 4 4
वि वि चक्रमे त्रेधा । चक्रमे त्रेधा त्रेधा चक्रमे चक्रमे त्रेधा नि नि त्रेधा चक्रमे चक्रमे
5 6 5 6 6 5 5 6 7 7 6 6 5 6 7 6 7 7 6
त्रेधा नि । त्रेधा नि नि त्रेधा त्रेधा नि दधे दधे नि त्रेधा त्रेधा नि दधे । नि दधे दधे नि
6 7 6 8 7 6 6 7 8 7 8 3 7 7 5 8
नि दधे पदं पदं दधे नि नि दधे पदम् । दधे पदं पदं दधे दधे पदम् । पदमिति पदम् ।
9 10 10 9 9 10 11 11 10 9 9 10 11 9
समूळ्हमस्यास्य समूळ्हं समूळ्हमस्य पांसुरे पांसुरेस्य समूळ्हं समूळ्हमस्य पांसुरे । समूळ्ह-
10 11 11 10 10 11 11
मिति सम्ऽऊळ्हम् । अस्य पांसुरे पांसुरेस्यास्य पांसुरे । पांसुर इति पांसुरे ॥

Padas are the different words of a Mantra repeated separately. Saṁhitā consists in putting them together according to the Saṁdhi rules and using the Saṁdhi accents. In Krama the first word is repeated along with the second, the second with the third, the third with the fourth, and so on, as shown in the above scheme. The last word of a Mantra or a half of a Ṛik-verse, is simply repeated with the word Iti placed between. This repetition is called Veṣṭana. In the Jaṭā arrangement, the first word and the second, the second and the first, and the first and the second again, are repeated together, joined by the Saṁdhi rules and having Saṁdhi accents. In the same manner, the second and the third, the third and the second, and the second and the third are put together, and thus it goes on, each word in succession beginning a new Jaṭā arrangement, up to the end of a half-Ṛik or of a mantra, when the last word is simply repeated, as in the Krama. In the Ghana there is first a Jaṭā arrangement of two successive words, and then the third is added on, then the three are put together in the reverse order, and again in the converse. A Ghana is thus composed of the first and the second; the second and the first; the first and the second again, then the third; the third, the second, and the first; and the first, the second, and the third. The second word begins the next Ghana, and we have the second, third; third, second; second, third, fourth; fourth, third, second; second, third, and fourth put together. In this manner it goes on to the las word, which cannot begin a new Ghana, and is therefore simply

repeated, as in the other cases. Whenever there is a compound, there is in addition what is called an Avagraha, i. e., a dissolution of it into its parts, in all these schemes, as in the case of Samūḷham in the above. It ought by no means to be supposed that to one who has got up the Padas these other arrangements are easy, since the Saṁdhi changes and accents are different in each scheme ; and in reciting, the horizontal and vertical (Anudātta and svarita) accents, as also the one compounded of these two, are distinctly shown by certain modulations of the voice. The Ṛgvedis do this in a way different from that followed by the Taittirīyas, or followers of the Black Yaju, while the Mādhyandinas indicate the accents by means of certain movements of the right hand. The Kāṇvas, however, differ from these latter, and follow the Ṛgvedis, as do the Atharvavedis also.

In this manner the Vaidikas learn to recite the Mantra portions of their Veda. The Brāhmaṇas and other works are learnt and repeated simply as we find them in Manuscripts, i. e., in the Saṁhitā way. The quantity that the Ṛgvedis have to get up is so large that a person who has carried his studies up to Ghana is very rarely to be met with, and generally the Vaidikas of that Veda get up only the Saṁhitā, Pada, and Krama of the Mantra portion, in addition to the Brāhmaṇa and the other works enumerated above. Amongst the Taittirīyas, however, a great many Vaidikas go up to the Ghana of the Mantra portion of their Veda, since they have to get up only their Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka in addition. Some learn the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya also ; but the Vedāṅgas, including the Kalpa and Gṛhya Sūtras, are not attended to by that class, nor indeed by any except the Ṛgvedis. The Mādhyandinas get up the Saṁhitā, Pada, Krama, Jaṭā and Ghana of their Mantra portion ; but their studies generally stop there ; and there is hardly one to be found who knows the whole Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa by heart, though several get up portions of it. There are very few Atharvavedis in the Bombay Presidency, a few families residing at Māhuli, near Satara,

and some more in Revakāṇṭā (See Indian Antiquary Volume, I. p. 129). Last year, two Vaidikas of this Veda, very probably from the latter district, came up to me for Dakṣiṇā. I took a copy of the German Edition in my hand and examined them, but they did not seem to know their Saṁhitā well. The triumph of a Vaidika consists in repeating his Veda fluently, in all the ways above detailed, without a single mistake in the letters or accents. The students of the Sāmaveda have their own innumerable modes of singing the Sāmas. These are now being published in the Bibliotheca Indica. The Sāmavedis get up their Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads also.

The Vaidikas support themselves generally on the gifts or Dakṣiṇās of those of their countrymen who are charitably disposed. Often recital-meetings, known by the name of Mantra-Jāgaras, are held by rich Gṛhasthas in their houses, at which the principal Vaidikas in the town or village are invited. The reciters of each Veda are divided into two parties, one of which repeats a portion of a Mantra in one or more of the several schemes, and the other party takes up the next; and is then followed by the first again. Each of them is silent while the other is repeating. In this manner, they go on till the time for breaking up arrives. The reciters are provided with milk and other refreshments, and at the end a money-Dakśiṇā is is given to them by the host, according to his means. It is always a point of honour, at these meetings, who should recite first. By general consent, however, the first place is given to the Ṛgvedis; and after they have repeated their Mantras, the Yajurvedis begin. But, since there are two classes of Yajurvedis, the followers of Black Veda and of the White, this second place is the subject of contention between them. And sometimes the quarrel waxes so warm that it is often considered the safest course for the convener of the meeting, in order that his house may not be a scene of tumult, to invite members of only one of these. The third place is assigned to the Sāmavedis.

The Veda-reciters are patronized by native princes also; and the most liberal of these are the Gaikavāḍ and the Rāja of

Travancore, whose praises are sung by the wandering Tailaṅga Vaidika. The former has got a regular board of examiners, by whom every candidate that comes up from any part of India is examined and recommended for Dakṣiṇā according to his deserts. But, with all these sources of income, the Vaidika is hardly in easy circumstances. Hence the class is gradually dying out, and the sons of the best Vaidikas in Poona or the Koṅkan, now attend Government English Schools—a result not to be much deplored.

Though the time and energy wasted in transmitting the Vedas in this manner, from the times of Kātyāyana and other ancient editors of the Vedas, has been immense, we should not forget that this class of Vaidikas has rendered one important service to Philology. I think the purity of our Vedic texts is to be wholly attributed to this system of getting them up by heart, and to the great importance attached by the reciters to perfect accuracy, even to a syllable or an accent.

There is another class of Vedic students called Śrotriyas, or popularly Śrautīs, which must not be omitted here. These are acquainted with the art of performing the great sacrifices. They are generally good Vaidikas, and in addition, study the Kalpa-Sūtra and the Prayogas or manuals. Their number is very limited. Here and there one meets with Agnihotris, who maintain the three sacrifical fires and perform the fortnightly Iṣṭis (sacrifices) and the Cāturmāsyas (particular kinds of sacrifice). The grander Soma sacrifices are now and then brought forward, but they are as a matter of course very unfrequent. There was one in the Koṅkan at a village called Golapa, near Ratnāgiri, in May 1868, at which I was present, and another at Poona last year. The young Chief of Colaba has made preparations to institute at Ālibāg, at the end of this month (April), a sacrifice which is to be a compound of the species called Aptoryāma and of a ceremony known by the name of Cayana ; that is, the ceremony of constructing the Kuṇḍa of altar in a peculiar shape. This will occupy the first twelve days, and the whole will last for about twenty days.

THE NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTIONS

[FROM THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS, LONDON, 1876, PP. 188 ff.]

In the following Translations of the Nasik Cave Inscriptions, I have mainly followed Mr. West's excellent lithographs, given in Volume VII of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal. Lieutenant Brett's copies, from which Dr. Stevenson translated them, were also consulted. But finding that neither Collection was satisfactory in every rsspect, I visited the caves myself about three weeks ago, and compared the copies with the originals. I found a difference in several .cases. These have been indicated in their proper places. I was accompanied by my friend Mr. Ābāji Viṣṇu Kāthavaṭe, himself a Sanskrit scholar, who was of much assistance to me. I have translated all the Inscriptions with the exception of No 23, which consists of a few small and incomplete lines. The numbers used are those of Mr. West's copies. The order in which I have arranged my Translations is as follows :—

1. Gautamīputra's Inscriptions, Nos. 26 and 25.
2. Uṣavadāta's Inscriptions, Nos. 17, 19, 18, 16, and 14.
3. Inscriptions of private individuals containing the names of kings.
4. The rest.

No. 26

१ सिद्धं रणो वासिठीपुतस सिरिपुडुमायिस समच्छरे एकुणविसे १९ गिम्हणपखे बितीये २ दिवसे तेरसे १३ राजरणो गोतमीपुतस हिमवतमेरु-

२ मंदारपवतसमसारस असिकअसकमुळकसुरठकुकुरापरतअनुपविदभआकरावति-राजस विझछवतपारिचातसयकएहगिरिमचसिरिटनमलयमहिंद-

३ सेटगिरिचकेरपवतपतिस सवराजलोकमंडळ पतिगहीतसासनस दिवसकर करविबोधितकमलविमलसादिसवदनस तिसमुदतोयपीतवाहनस पडिपुणचंदमंडलससिरीक-

४ पियदसनस वरवारणविकमचारुविकमस भुजगपतिभोगपीनवाटविपुलदीघसुंदर-भुजस अभयोदकदानकिलिननिभयकरस अविपनमातुसुसकस सुविभतातिवगदेसकालस

५ पोरजननिविसेससमसुखदुखस खतियदपमानमदनस सकयवनपल्हवनिसुदनस धमोपजितकरविनियोगकरस किनापराधेपि सतुजणे अपाणहिंसारुचिस दिजावरकुटुंब-विवध-

६ नस खगारातवंसनिरवसेसकरस सातवाहनकुलयसपतिठापनकरस सवमंडलाभि-वादितचरणस विनिवतितचातुवणसंकरस अनेकसमरावाजितसतुसंघस अपराजितविजय-पताकसतुजनदुपधसनीय-

७ पुरवरस कुलपुरिसपरंपरागतविपुलराजसदस आगमानं निलयस सपुरिसानं अस-यस सिरीस अधिठानस उपचारानं पभवस एककुस[ल]स एकधनुधरस एकसुरस एक-ब्रह्मणस राम-

८ केसवाजुनभीमसेनतुलपराकमस [द]च्छणयनुसवसमाजकारकस णभागन-हुसजनमेजयसकरययातिरामांबरिससमतेजस अपारीमितमखयमीचतमभुत[.] पवनगरुडसिधय-सरखस[.]विजाधरभूतगंधवचारण-

९ चंददिवाकरनखतगहविचिण समरसिरसि जिनरिपुसंघस·णगवरखधा गगनतल-मभिविगाडस कुलविपुल[ण]सिरिकरस सिरिसातकनिस मातुय महादेवीय गोतमीय बलसिरिय सचवचनदानखमाहिंसानिरताय तपदमानिय-

१० मोपवासतपराय राजरिसिवधुसदमखिलमनुविधीयमानाय कारितं देवधंम cut away सप cut away सिखरसदिसतिरण्हुपवतसिखरे विमानवराणिविसेसमहिमकं लेणं ए[तं] च ले[णं] महादेवी महाराजमाता महाराजपतामही ददाति निकायस भदावनीयानं भिखुसंघस

११ एतस च लेणग चित[णं] निमि[तं] महादेवीय अयकाय सेवाकामो पियकामो ण cut away पथेसरो पितुपतियसधमसेतुस ददाति गामं तिरण्हुपवतस अपरदखिण पासे पिसाजिपदर...सावजात...रथ.

Though covered over with a black oily paint, this Inscription, with the exception of a few letters at the end, could be easily read. It is intelligible throughout, though not without a few difficulties; and the words can be readily traced to their Sanskrit originals. The letters, not occurring in Mr. West's lithograph, and such as are different there from what I found them to be in the original, are underlined here, as in other Inscriptions.

Lines 2, 3. Some of the names cannot be identified. सिरितन is perhaps श्रीस्तन in Sanskrit. May this be Śrī Śaila on the Kṛṣṇā ?—चकोर is very likely the Cakora mentioned in some of the Purāṇas. For the rest see Wilson's Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and Varāha-Mihira, Chap. XIV.

L. 6. सगारात or ससारात. The right-hand stroke indicatory of आ is distinct in the original.

L. 8 छुणयसु° makes no sense. कु must very likely be read before it, though it does not occur ; and then the word would correspond to दाक्षिणायसु°. सकर must have been intended for सगर. Engravers not seldom make such mistakes. शंकर can have nothing to do here ; Gautamīputra is compared to ancient kings, and not to gods, in the compound. Dr. Stevenson's शकारि will not do ; for what is wanted here is an old Purāṇic king.

L. 9. विचिण offers some difficulty. If taken as corresponding to वितीर्णं, there is nothing in the following words which it may with propriety be made to qualify. वितीर्णः समरः would hardly be good sense ; for the fight is with mortal enemies, and not with the wind, Garuḍa, etc. Nor would the compound ending with the word look well as an adverb. The letter representing Ca may not unlikely have been engraved for Dha, which it greatly resembles ; and with a small stroke to the right, Ṇa would be Ṇā, and the whole word would be विधिणा. This yields pretty good sense ; for what seems to be intended is that he propitiated the wind, Garuḍa and the rest by some processes, and then obtained an easy victory over his enemies. मातुय, महादेवीय, etc., stand for मातुए, महादेवीए, etc. insrrumental singulars in Prakrit.

L. 10. तिरणु or more properly तिरण्हि (see No. 25, l. 8), corresponds to त्रिरश्मि (See No. 17, middle of l. 3, and No. 15, l. 7), and was the name of the hill on which these Cave-Temples are excavated. It occurs in No. 9, No. 11, l. 2, No. 25, about the end of l. 9, and also in l. 11 of this. Dr. Stevenson makes "Kanha mountain" of it in one place (p. 43), "the rays of the setting sun" in another (p. 50), and "wilderness" in a

third[1]. भदावनीयानं ought to be भदायनीयानं (See to ll. and 13 below) =भद्रायनीयानाम् which was the name of a Buddhistic sect.[2]

L. 11. चितनं.- लेणपचितन is the reading of both Lieut. Brett and Mr. West; but I could distinctly see स instead of प and लेणस, the genitive, is wanted here. चितनं=चैत्यानाम्. अयकाय=आर्यकाया: gen. "of the venerable lady". पिसाजिपदर is unintelligible.

Sanskrit of No. 26.

१ सिद्धम् । राज्ञो वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीपुडुमायेः संवत्सर एकोनविंशे १९ ग्रीष्मपक्षे द्वितीये २ दिवसे त्रयोदशे १३ राजराजस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य हिमवन्मेरु—

२ मन्दारपर्वतसमसारस्यासिकाश्मकमुडकसुराष्ट्रकुकुरापरान्तानूपविदर्भाकरावन्ती-राजस्य विन्ध्यावत्पारियात्रसह्यकृष्णगिरिमचश्रीस्तनमलयमहेन्द्र—

३ श्रेष्ठगिरिचकोरपर्वतपतेः सर्वराजलोकमण्डलप्रतिगृहीतशासनस्य दिवसककरविबो-धितकमलविमलसदृशवदनस्य त्रिसमुद्रतोयपीतवाहनस्य परिपूर्णचन्द्रमण्डलसश्रीक—

४ प्रियदर्शनस्य वरवारणविक्रमचारुविक्रमस्य भुजगपतिभोगपीनवृत्तविपुलदीर्घ-सुन्दरभुजस्याभयोदकदानक्लिन्नानिर्भयकरस्याविपन्नमातृशुश्रूषकस्य सुविभक्तत्रिवर्गदेश-कालस्य

५ पौरजननिर्विशेषसमसुखदुःखस्य क्षत्रियदर्पमानमर्दनस्य शकयवनपल्हवनिषूदनस्य धर्मोपार्जितकरविनियोगकरस्य कृतापराधेपि शत्रुजनेऽप्राणहिंसारुचेर्द्विजवरकुटुम्बविवर्ध—

६ नस्य क्षगारातवंशनिरवशेषकरस्य शातवाहनकुलयशःप्रतिष्ठापनकरस्य सर्व-मण्डलाभिवादितचरणस्य विनिवर्तितचातुर्वर्ण्यसंकरस्यानेकसमरावजितशत्रुसंघस्यापरा-जितविजयपताकशत्रुजनदुष्प्रधर्षणीय—

७ पुरवरस्य कुलपुरुषपरंपरागतविपुलराजशब्दस्यागमानां निलयस्य सत्पुरुषाणामा. श्रयस्य श्रियोऽधिष्ठानस्योपचाराणां प्रभवस्यैककुश[ल]स्यैकधनुर्धरस्यैकशूरस्यैकब्रह्म-ण्यस्य राम—

८ केशवार्जुनभीमसेनतुल्यपराक्रमस्य दक्षिणायनोत्सवसमाजकारकस्य नभागनहुष-जनमेजयसगरययातिरामाम्बरीषसमतेजसोऽपरिमितमक्षयमचिन्त्यमद्भुत(तं)पवनगरुडसिद्धय-क्षराक्षसविद्याधरगन्धर्वचारण—

1. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume V, p. 55.

2. Wassiljew, p. 230.

९ चन्द्रदिवाकरनक्षत्रग्रहविधिना समरशिरसि जितरिपुसंघस्य नगवृक्षधा गगनतलम- भिविगाढस्य कुलविपुण्यश्रीकरस्य शातकर्णेर्मात्रा महादेव्या गौतम्या बलश्रिया सत्यवच- नदानक्षमाहिंसानिरतया तपोदमनिय—

१० मोपवासतत्परया राजर्षिवधूशब्दमखिलमनुविधीयमानया कारितं देयधर्मं cut away शिखरसदृशात्रिरश्मिपर्वतशिखरे विमानवरनिर्विशेषमहिमकं लयनम्। एतच्च लयनं महादेवीमहाराजमाता महाराजपितामही ददाति निकायस्य(याय) भद्रायनीयानां भिक्षुसंघस्य(घाय)।

११ एतस्य च लयनस्य चैत्यानां निमित्तं महादेव्या आर्यकायाः सेवाकामः प्रिय- कामश्च न cut away पथेश्वरः पितृपतियशोधर्मसेतोर्ददाति ग्रामं त्रिरश्मिपर्वतस्यापरद- क्षिणपार्श्वे...सर्वजात...रब।

TRANSLATION.

This Cave-temple, a benefaction, the greatness of which is not excelled by the best (1) of Vimānas (celestial cars), is caused to be constructed on the snmmit of Triraśmi, which is like the summit of—, on the 13th thirteenth day, in the 2nd second fortnight of Grīṣma (2), in the year 19 nineteen of the King Śrī Puḍumayi, the son of Vāśiṣṭhī, by the Great Queen Gautamī, the presiding genius of power, taking delight in veracity, charity, forbearance, and abstinence from killing, devoted to religious austerities, self-restraint, vows and fasts, and acting (3) in every way as befits the title of " daughter (4) of royal sages, " and the mother of Śātakarni, Gautamīputra [the son of Gautamī], the King of Kings, whose might [firm- ness] is equal to that of the mountains Himālaya, Meru, and Mandāra; who is king of Asika, Aśmaka, Muḍhaka, Surāṣṭra, Kukura (5), Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidarbha, Akara, and Avantī, and lord of the mountains Vindhyāvat, Pāriyātra, Sahya, Kṛṣṇa-giri, Malaya, Mahendra, Śreṣṭha-giri and Cakora ; whose orders are obeyed by the circle of all kings, whose pure face resembles the lotus blown open by the rays of the sun, whose beasts of burden have drunk(6) the waters of the three seas, whose look is as graceful and lovely as the full disk of the moon, whose gait is as

pleasing as that of an excellent elephant, whose arm is as stout, rounded, massive, long, and beautiful as the body of the lord of serpents, whose fearless hand is wetted by the water poured in granting (7) asylums, who serves his living (lit. not dead) mother, who has well arranged the times and places proper for [the pursuit of] the triad (8), whose happiness and misery are the same as, and not different from, those of his citizens, who has quelled the boast and pride of Kṣatriyas, who is the destroyerer of the Śakas, Yavanas, and Palhavas, whe spends the [revenue got from] taxes levied only according to the law, who does not like to destroy life even in the case of enemies who have given offence, who has increased (9) the families of the best of Brahmans, who exterminated [lit. left no remnants of] the race of Khagārāta, who has established the glory of the family of Śātavāhana, whose feet are adored by the whole circle of kings, who has stemmed [the progress of] the confusion of the four castes, who has conquered the host of his enemies in innumerable battles, whose great capital is unappoachable to his enemies and has its victorious flag unconquered, to whom the great title of king has descended from a series of ancestors [lit. men of his family], who is the abode of learning, the support ot good men, the home of glory, the source of good manners, the only skilful person, the only archer, the only brave man, the only supporter of Brahmans, whose exploits rival those of Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna, and Bhīmasena; who holds festive meetings on the occasion of the summer solstice, whose prowess is equal to that of Nabhāga, Nahuṣa, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma, and Aṁbarīṣa ; who conquered the host of his enemies in the brunt of battle in a curious and wonderful manner in virtue of his innumerable worships and obvervances, and by means of rites concerning the wind, Garuda, Siddhas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Vidyādharas, ghosts, Gandharvas, Cāranas, the moon, the sun, the constellations and planets ; who erects his neck high in the sky like (10) mountains and trees [lit. who goes or makes towards the sky], and who has brought prosperity to his race.

The Great Queen, the mother of the Great King, and the grand-mother of the Great King, gives this cave to the Congregation, the host of mendicants of the Bhadrāyanīya School. The Lord of — patha, desirous to please and to serve the venerable lady, the Great Queen, grants a village on the south-western side of the Trirasmi mount for the sake of the Caityas (images) in the cave-temple, in order thus to prepare a bridge for the fame and religious desert of her father and husband.

NOTES.

The syntactical connection of the sentence ending with लयनम् in the tenth line is शातकर्णेर्माता गोतम्या त्रिरश्मिपर्वतशिखर इदं लयनं कारितम्. The words from राजराजस्य in the first line to—श्री-करस्य in the ninth, are epithets of शातकर्णि ; and from महादेव्या to —विधीयमानया of गोतमी.

(1) My friend remarked, when we came to this part of the Inscription, that below the plinth of the verandah of the Cave, were carved figures of men with poles on their shoulders, giving to them the appearance of Vimāna-bearers, like the modern Palki—bearers, and to the Cave that of a Vimāna.

(2) It appears to have been the custom in some parts of the country in those days to mark the Ṛtu or season instead of the month. Each season is compsed of two months, and consequently of four Pakṣas or fortnights. Grīṣma comprehends Jyeṣṭha and Āṣāḍha.

(3) अनुविधीयमानया is in form *passive*, while the *active* sense is required. It may have been a mistake of the engraver,

(4) Daughter or daughter-in-law.

(5) A portion of modern Rajaputana appears to have been known by the name of Kukura ; for it is called Kiuchelo by Huien Thsang, which General Cunningham identifies with Gurjjara. [1] But Gurjjara is nowhere mentioned as the name

1 Ancient Geography of India, p. 312.

of a country; and supposing that there was a country of that name, its position ought to be farther to the South. The Gurjjara dynasty which the General connects with that country reigned at Broach[1] (See Journal B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X). Kukura answers to Kiuchelo better than Gurjjara. Aparānta must be the Western coast below the Sahyādri; for Kālidāsa represents Raghu, in the fourth canto of the Raghuvaṁśa (Śloka 52, 53, and 58), to have crossed the Sahya to conquer that country, and to have, by means of his immense army, made the sea to appear " as if it touched the Sahya mountain. " Anūpa was a country on the Upper Narmadā, with Māhiṣmatī for its capital.[2]

(6) According to the usual Sanskrit idiom (Pāṇini II. 2. 36) पीत ought to be placed before त्रिसमुद्रतोय. But there are exceptions, as noticed in Pāṇini II. 2. 37. Such expressions as माहवसिरिणो for श्रीमाधवस्य (Mālatī-Mādhava, Act VI.) are not uncommon. Jagaddhara's remark in this case is माधवश्रिय इत्यत्र प्राकृते पूर्वनिपातानियमाच्छ्रीमाधवस्येत्यर्थः. According to him, therefore, adjectives may be placed after the noun in Prakrit where this cannot be done in Sanskrit.

(7) Properly the phrase ought to be translated thus, "Whose fearless hand is wetted by giving the water of asylum or safety." But there is no object or propriety in comparing safety to water. The expression ought to be अभयदानोदक. The compound, however, may be dissolved as अभयस्योदकेन दानम, but this is hardly good.

(8) The triad is धर्म " religious merit or desert ", अर्थ "wealth, possessions, or worldly interests," and काम, "desires or pleasures. "

(9) To put a Brahman in a condition in which he may " increase and multiply " his race has always been considered an act of virtue. Uṣavadāta is praised in Inscription No. 17 for

1 Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Volume X.

2 Raghuvaṁśa, VI. 37-43.

" having given eight wives to Brahmans, " i. e. given them the means of marrying.

(10) The termination धा showing " manner " or "variety," which in Sanskrit is applied only to numerals, seems to be appended here to common nouns. Hence नगवृक्षधा means " in the manner of mountains and trees. "

By far the greater part of Dr. Stevenson's translation of this Inscription is wrong, and wide away from the true sense. His " Varāja, lord of the circle of Lankā ", " Sūrya going to the region of the lotuses at the suggestion of chāyā ", " the spotless sister, " " Kṣatriya flaming like the god of love, " the four institutes, one for the sick and infirm ", " Umākhelā, the queen, etc. etc., have all disappeared in my Translation. I need not criticize it further. Any one who will compare both with the original will perceive the truth of my remark.

It will be seen that the cave was caused to be constructed and assigned to the mendicants by Gautamī, the mother of Śātakarṇi Gautamīputra, and not by his wife or widow, as supposed by Dr. Stevenson and all subsequent writers.

Below this Inscription there is another composed of about three lines in smaller characters, which is difficult to read. The time at my command was so short that I had to come away without comparing Mr. West's transcript with it. But I do not think such a comparison would have been of much use. The engraver was evidently in haste, and wanted to compress much matter within the short space at his disposed, in consequence of which the letters are badly formed. The difficulty is increased by a portion in the middle of each line being destroyed. The context is thus cut off. I have, however, been able, by comparthe two copies, to make out the following:—

No. 26 A.

११ नवनरस्वामी वासिठीपुतो सिरीपुडुमवि आणपयति गोवधने अमचं [.]

१२ सवसदलन [.] अमेण [.] सव० १९ गि० प० २ दिव० १३ धनकटसामिमहि

प एथ पतेतर cut away न एतस तस लेणस पटसथरणे अखयहेतु एथ गोवधनहरे

दक्षिणनमो गामो व तिथण भिखुहिं देवीलेणवासेहिं निकायेन भद्रायनीयेहिं पतिखाय दतो एतस दानगामस सुदसनेहि परखटके एथ गोह [व] धन हरे पुव

११ गामो[म]समदेसे[.] ददिम एतस महाअइरकाने[.] ददानधमसेतुस लणस पटिपधरणे अखयहेतो [तु] गामे[.] मम [वि] लपदं[.] तन cut away सण cut away येन भद्रायनीयेहिं पतिखय उयपथ [वियापितो] एतस च गामस सम [वि] लपदस भिखु-पालपरिवारइये समादते[.] पालने[.] पवजितपरिवारे देवाने[.] कणणे[.] कजे[.] गोवधनवा-थवनकसरय वेएहपाले[.] न अमचे[.] ,णाणतेन मतगणसपणपणासिस जिनवरस बुधस

१४ पितराम अपवेसं[.] अनामसं[.] अवाणसणकं[.] अरठ समनमकं [सविनायिकं] सवजातपरिवारिकं[.] च एताहि परिहारेहिं एतं[.] च गामं[.] सम[वि]लपदपरिवारे[.] च एथ नखध [निबध] लिपि अद [दि] मानतमसवसुदसनानं[.] विनिबंधकरेहिं आणतमहा सेनापतिना मेधाविनासद सतर [ने] ण निच्छिता व निकदेवस कजे.

When a reading not noticed below is not found in one of the copies, it should be looked for in the other.

L. 12. अमेणं looks like अमेप, but what is required is a Prakrit word having the sense of अस्माकम्. —सामिनहिं is the instrumental plural occuring again in No.25, l. 5. The न of the singular seems to have the plural termination attached to it in this case, as in the Marathi plural राज्यानीं (=नहीं), the singular being राज्यानें. The verb or participle of which सामिनाहिं is the agent in the instrumental case is wanting, probably lost in the portion of the Inscription destroyed. It should be some word signifying "given". —एतस. The t seems to have been badly cut in the rock or compounded by the copyists with v. —परसंथरणे=प्रतिसंस्तरणे whence the ट ought to be टि. The word occurs in the next line in the form of पटिपथरणे=प्रतिप्रस्तरणे.—गोवधनहारे may also be read as गोवधनाहारे=" district of Govardhana. "—तिथण is somewhat difficult Mr. West has मिलेण. I prefer the former, and refer it to the Sanskrit तत्स्थान or त्रिस्थान. —भद्रायनेहिं. The भ books like म, but there can be little doubt that भ is the correct reading, since the word occurs near the end of l. 10 and in the middle of l. 13. In the latter place it is distinct in Lieut. Brett's copy, —पतिखत. The first letter is उ in Lieut. Brett's, and unreadable in Mr. West's.

It must be ब, for the word is repeated in the next line, where the ब is distinct. In the latter place the letter that looks like म must be corrected to ख, as we have got it here. —बुबुसेति. The vowel of the last letter is not distinct. The vowel occurs in the last line about the end. —पुव. The vowel of the first letter is wanting in Mr. West's, but some mark denoting it is to be seen in Lieut. Brett's, though on the left side of the letter. Mr. West suspects the existence of म after व, but that letter is not required here unless we read the whole word as पुवम.

L. 13 भामी. This is nominative singular, but the sense requires the accusative. —बंबुविम appears to be the first person plural of the perfect. In Sanskrit, however, the root बुध् first class takes the Ātmanepada terminations. Or if one बु is considered redundant, and consequently to have crept in by mistake, the form is of the root बुध. But the Praktits generally have not preserved the Ātmanepada. —अइरकानं = आर्यकानाम्. The dots representing इ sometimes stand for ज as in l. 5 of No 12, in which case the word is अजरकानं. The plural is used as expressive of respect. —समलपदं might be taken as corresponding to समलपथं or समलपथम्. पथ or पथ् means a " road " or " path ", but मल does not yield an appropriate sense. The letter, however, which looks like म may also be read as खि, in which case the expression is सखिलपथम् 'together with the ditches (such as wells) and roads." The expression occurs further on in this line and in the next. —उपपथ. The isosceles triangle which represents व has in several cases in this inscription lost one of its sides. Taking the first letter, therefore, as व, the word nearest to उपपथ which makes sense is विवर्जितो or विवर्जितेत्र "abandoned". —देवानकणाजकज is somewhat unintelligible. The first word is very likely देवानं=देवानाम्, the second must be one having the sense of " a mendicant " or " beggar ," and third कजे=कार्ये ; so that the whole expression appears to mean " for the sake of gods and beggars and mendicants." Generally these are the objects of charity. (See कणेक-केसय below.) The first letter is not distinct, as it looks like ख,

—गोनबन must be a mistake for गोवधन. —नहसरय or if the न is taken with the preceding to give it the form of the insrumental singular, हसरय is hardly intelligible. But सरय may be read as सिरिय or सिरिणा=श्रिया and नह may be traced to नद्ध, in which case the expression is नद्धश्रिया " attended (lit. begirt) with prosperity. —वेण्हुपाल is perhaps the same man as विण्हुपालित, mentioned in No. 25, l. 2.—सपण is difficult. It may be the representative of स्वप्न.

L. 14. अपवेसं, etc. These expressions are commented on in the notes on l. 4, No. 25. —जिसव should be जिवव (See l. 5 and 11 No. 25). —अविमानतम=अतिमान्यतम looks well as an epithet of चिनिबंधकरेहिं, but is made part of the compound ending with छपसनानं, which in Sanskrit will not do.

Sanskrit of No. 26 A.

११ नवनरस्वामी वासिष्ठीपुत्रो श्रीपुडुमवि राज्ञापयति गोवर्धनेऽमात्यं

१२ सर्वाक्षदलनमस्माकं सं० १९ ग्री० प० २ दिव० १३ । धनकटस्वामिभिर्योऽत्र cut away एतस्य तस्य लयनस्य प्रतिसंस्तरणेऽक्षयहेतुरत्र गोवर्धनाहारे दाक्षिणमार्गे ग्रामः स तत्स्थानभिक्षुभिर्देवीलयनवासैर्निकायेन भद्रायनीयैः प्रतिस्थाय दत्तः । एतस्य दानग्रामस्य सुदर्शनैः परिवर्तकमत्र गोवर्धनाहारे पूर्व—

१३ ग्रामसमदेशं ददिमैतस्य महार्यकानां ददानधर्मसेतोर्लेयनस्य प्रतिप्रस्तरणेऽक्षयहेतुग्रामं सविल्पघम् । cut away cut away (निका) येन भद्रायनीयैः प्रतिस्थाय वियापित एतस्य च ग्रामस्य सविलपघस्य भिक्षुपालपरिवारहस्ते समादत्तं पाल्यं प्रव्राजितपरिवारे देवानां...कार्ये । गोनवनवास्तव्यनद्धश्रिया विष्णुपोलेनामात्येनाज्ञसम मर्त्यगणस्वप्नप्रव्राजिनः(ने) जिनवरस्य(राय) बुद्धस्य(द्धाय)

१४ वितरामोऽप्रवेश्यमनाम्रश्यमदानखानकमराष्ट्रसविनयिकं सर्वजातपरिहारिकं च । एतं परिहारैः परिहारैरेतं च ग्रामं सविलपथपरिवारं च । अत्र निबद्धलिपिरतिमान्यतमैः सर्वसुदर्शनानां विनिबन्धकरैराज्ञसमहासेनापतिना मेघाविनाक्षतसत्वेन निक्षिप्ताबनीकदेवस्य कार्ये ।

TRANSLATION.

The prosperous Puḍumayi, the lord of Navanara (1), com mands Sarvākṣadalana, the Royal Officer in Govardhana :—The village in the Govardhana district, in the southern division which (was granted) on the thirteenth day of the second fort

night of Grīṣma, in the year nineteen of our (reign), by the Lord of Dhanakaṭa, as a permanent provision for the keeping up of this said cave-temple, was disapproved by the mendicants of the place, the Bhadrāyanīyas in congregation, residing in the Queen's cave-temple, and given (back). In its place we granted, by (issuing) mandates, another village of the same area as the former, along with the wells and roads, as a permanent provision for the keeping up of the cave-temple of the great venerable lady (or grand-mother) which is the bridge of religious desert to the donor ; and the management of the village, which was disapproved by the Bhadrāyanīyas in congregation, was placed in the hands of the body of the protectors of the mendicants, (and of ?) the body of the recluses (2), for purposes concerning gods and beggars (generally). We (now) grant the village to Buddha, the best of Jinas, the destroyer of the ignorance (lit. sleep) of the crowd of mortals, by (issuing) commands to the prosperous Viṣṇupāla, the Royal Officer residing in Gonabana. It is not to be entered on or interfered with by others, not to include what has been granted (before) or may be dug out, and not to be subject to the rules (in matters of revenue) applicable to (other parts of) the country, and to include all that may grow on it. (We grant) with these restrictions this village, along with the wells, roads, and appurtenances. This charter (composition) is engraved here by the general, the talented Akṣatasattva at the command (3) of the very respectful composers of all mandates (or charters).

NOTES.

(1) I translate नवनरस्वामी as "the Lord of Navanara," upon the analogy of the expression धनकटस्वामी. Navanara must have been the name of Puḍumayi's capital. But it may be translated as "the new lord of men." नरस्वामी, however, in the sense of a King, is hardly to be met with, and the epithet नव or "new," as applied to the King, can have so significance, since about the time that it was used in this Inscription he must have been more than nineteen years on the throne.

(2) A distinction seems to be intended here between a भिक्षु and a प्रव्रजित. The former term signifies a regular Buddhistic mendicant, and the latter, any one who has abandoned the world and devoted himself to the life of a recluse.

(3) Command, i. e. the respected person composed the charter, and it was engraved as composed. The word आणत्त may here be translated "at the dictation of."

The Lord of Dhanakaṭa spoken of in this Inscription was Gautamīputra ; for the title occurs before his name in No. 25, l. 1. He appears to be represented here to have granted a village on the thirteenth day of the second fortnight, etc., which is the date of No. 26. This, therefore, must be the same grant as that mentioned in l. 11 of that Inscription. From No. 26 A we see that the Bhadrāyanīyas disapproved of the village granted to them by Gautamīputra, whereupon Puḍumayi gave them another in its place, and the old one, which for some time had been devoted to charitable purposes generally, was assigned to the Buddhists by this charter.

Govardhana appears from this Inscription, and from No. 25, to have been the capital of the province during the reign of these princes. There is a village of that name at present about three or four miles from the hill where these caves are constructed.

No. 25.

१ सिधं सेनानी विजयति यो विजयतिथवारा[रे] गोवधनस व[ध]नंकटक स्वामी गोतमीपुतो सिरिसदकणि

२ आनपयति गोवधने अमचविण्हुपालितं गामे अपरकखदियं [.] यं खेतं अज-काकचीयं उमसदाते[से?]न भुतं निवत[न] —

३ सतानि बे २०० एतं अम्ह खेतं [नि]वतनसतानि बे २०० इमेसि पवजितानं तेकिरसिनं [पुरिसानं] वितराम एतस च [त]स खेतस परिहारं

४ वितराम अपावेसं अनामसं अलोणखादकं[or द]कं अरठसंविनयिकं सव-जातपरिहारिकं च एतहि न परिहारेहि परिहारेहि.

ꟹ= तिय. तियवारा should be तियवारे which represents the Sanskrit तीर्थद्वारे. Hemacandra gives बारं, दारं and दुवारं as the Prakrit forms of द्वारम्.¹ (क्वचित्तत्पर्यायेण — द्वारं । बारं । दारं). The vowel marks are not distinct here. It is वारा in Mr. West's, but वार in Lieut. Brett's. It must very likely be वारे. —बनंकटका. The first letter should be read च (See No. 26 A. l. 12). The dot on न and the right hand stroke of क must be mistakes. There appears to be a letter like ꟹ = म after this word, but nothing satisfactory can be made out of it. —स्वामि. ꟹ when looked at from a certain position looks like ꟹ = स्वामि; and it must be so, for if it were simply स्वा, the nether loop would not be so much below the level of that of the next म. The loop, therefore, must be another letter, i. e., व. —गौतमीपुत्तेा. ꟹ must have the mark of ् , though I did not see it distinctly. —सधकाणि. ꟹ is distinctly ꟹ.

Line 2. आनपयति. The first two letters are: + ꟹ = आन; ꟹ must be ꟹ. —अपरकखडियं. The sense of this cannot be determined with perfect certainty, but it must refer to the direction in which the field lay. In No. 26, l. 11, the word अपरदखिण meaning " southwest " occurs, and उतरापरा in No. 19. The expression may therefore have been intended for अपरदक्षिणीय.—अजकालकीयं probably corresponds to अद्यकालकीयम् (अद्यकालिकम्). —निवतन. ꟹ and ꟹ have been put together by Mr. West, but they appear separate in Lieut. Brett's copy.

Line 3. The mark for a hundred has a side stroke, though the copies do not give it. It therefore signifies two hundred. —निवतन. The first letter is omitted in Mr. West's copy, but there is a perpendicular stroke to represent it in Lieut. Brett's. The context requires the नि. —तेकिरसिनं must very likely be पुरिसानं=पुरुषाणाम्. —What looks like चस must be तस, for the phrase एतस तस occurs in No. 26 A.

Line 4. अपावेसं अनामसं अदूलवलवकं अरठसविनयिकं. Mr. West's copy is not faithful to the original here. The third word is not distinct even in the original; but it must be as I have put it, for

1. क्वचित्तत्पर्यायेण द्वारं । बारं । दारं ।

these expressions occur in l. 10 below, and in the last line of No. 26 A. In this Inscription, however, we have अरठसमनमकं or अरठ-सपीनपीकं for the fourth expression. These phrases correspond to आचाटभटप्रवेश्यम् or समस्तराजकीयानामप्रवेश्यम्, पूर्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदायवर्जम् or सर्वदानसंग्राह्यम्, etc., occurring in copperplates of a later date[1]. अपावेसं is to be traced, I think, to अप्रावेश्यम्, अनामसं to अनामृश्यम्, अदाणसावकं or आदाणसानकं, as it may be read, to आदानसातकं or आदानसानकम्, and the last probably to अराष्ट्रसविनयिकम्, or more in conformity with Sanskrit usage, to अराष्ट्रसविनयम्, i. e. " not to be controlled or dealt with in point of revenue in the same manner as other parts of the country, " i. e. " not to be subjected to taxes. " —पतहिन. The न appears to form part of the termination, the usual portion of the हिं of the instrumental plural being written separ: tely.

Line 5. पत च सखेत is the reading of Lieut. Brett's copy. It should be एतं च तं खेतं. —I found परिवारं instead of परिहारं. —पथ निबध is the reading of the original, as of Lieut. Brett's copy. लिहि ought to be लिपि, the word occurring in the same circumstances in No. 26 A l. 14. छविणेण = छविज्ञेन "a learned man." Compare सर्वछदर्शनानां विनिबन्धकरे: in No. 26 A. l. 14. These charters were writen by learned men for those officers. —आणत ought either to be आणतेन=आज्ञप्तेन or should be taken as forming a compound with the following word.—अमचेन. Mr. West's copyi s inaccurate here ; the other is better. छत्तो represent the Sanskrit क्षिप्तो, or if there is a नि in the blank, निक्षिप्तो "placed," i. e. "engraved."—महासामिय्वाहि must be महासामिनाहिं. (See No.26A, l. 12, and the note). —अपर. The perpendicular stroke to the right hand is wanting in the case of अ.

Line 6. पविक or पवाक is very likely पुवक=पूर्वक "the preceding' "or former". —तापसानं. The mark of आ in ता is distinct in the original and in Mr. Brett's copy. राजनिता may have been intended for राजाणति=राजाज्ञप्ति.

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1 See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Volume I ; Jonrnal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Volumes I and X and Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol, VI.

sense in that case would be :—"Formerly a village and a field were granted to the mendicants. The field is one hundred (nivartanas), and the village nine. At the place where there is the grant of nine hundred is crownland on the boundary of the town, etc." वानि must be वानं. —नगरसीमे is a locative, for Sanskrit nouns ending in ऋ become masculine nouns ending in अ. —पेतकं. So I read it. In Mr. West's copy it looks somewhat like सतक, but in Lieut. Brett's, decidedly more like पेतक, and this gives the good sense.

Line 10. The words in this line have been remarked on before.

Line 11. लिपि छविणेन. See notes on l. 5 above. What looks like लठ must be लिपि. —परिहारेहिं परिहारेहिं. We see from l. 4 that these should be the words here but the original is so bad that Mr. West has got some characters which look like the usual marks for the figure 10. Lieut. Brett's copy is better. —पाडिहारखिय. Perhaps the name of the engraver=प्रतिधाररक्षित like धर्मरक्षित occurring in Inscription No. 11. —लाजयमा तो=राजयमात्यो, the य being probably a mistake for अ.

Line 12. कुजितिनं is not unlikely पूजितानाम.

A good many of the anusvâras in the foregoing transcript do not occur in the two copies of the inscription referred to. Some of these I found in the original myself, and others have been put in only when the context undoubtedly required them.

SANSKRIT OF NO. 25.

१ सिद्धम् । सेनानीर्विजयति यो विजयतीर्थद्वारे गोवर्धनस्य । धनकटकस्वामी गौतमीपुत्रो श्रीशातकर्णि –

२ राज्ञापयति गोवर्धनेऽमात्यं विष्णुपालितम् । ग्रामेऽपरदक्षिणीयं यत्क्षेत्रमधका- लिकमुसभदासेन [वृषभदासेन] भुक्तं निवर्तन–

३ शतानि द्वे २०० एतद्वयं क्षेत्रं निवर्तनशतानि द्वे २०० अस्य प्रव्रजितानां [°तेभ्यः] पुरुषाणां[बेभ्यः] वितराम एतस्य तस्य क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं

1. Vararuci, Prâkṛta-Prakâśa, IV. 18.

४ वितरामोऽप्रावेश्यमनावमर्श्यमदानखानकमराष्ट्रसविनयकं सर्वजातपरिहारकं च । एतैः परिहारैः परिहारे–

५ रेतच्च तत्क्षेत्रं परिवारं च । अत्र निबद्धलिपिः सुविशेनाज्ञप्तामात्येन शिव-गुप्तेन [लि]खिता । महास्वामिभिरपरं क्षेत्रं

६ दत्तं पूर्वकसंवत्सरे १९ वर्षापक्षे ४ दिवसे...तापसानां कार्ये ॥ सिद्धम् । गोवर्धनेऽमात्यस्य श्यामकस्य देया राज्ञाज्ञप्तिः ।

७ राज्ञो गोतमीपुत्रस्य शातकर्णेर्महादेव्याश्चार्यावासिष्ठ्या राजमातुर्वचनेन गोव-र्धनेऽमात्यश्यामक आज्ञप्तिर्वक्तव्यः । गोवर्धने ति-

८ रश्मिपर्वते अस्माकं धर्मदाने लयने प्रतिवसता[भ्यः] प्रव्रजितानां [तेभ्यः] भिक्षूणां[क्षुभ्यः] ग्रामे रश्मिदिशु पूर्वं क्षेत्रं दत्तम् । तच्च क्षेत्र-

९ मेकशतं स च ग्रामो नवशती । एकशति यद्दानमत्र नगरसीम्नि राजकक्षेत्र-मस्माकं तत एतस्य प्रव्रजितानां[तेभ्यः] भिक्षूणां[क्षुभ्यः] त्रिरश्मिकन्दरे

१० क्षेत्रस्य निवर्तनशतं १०० एतस्य च क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं वितरामोऽप्रावेश्यम-नावमर्श्यमदानखानकमराष्ट्रसविनयकं सर्वजातपरिहारकं च ।

११ एतैः परिहारैरेतच्च तत्क्षेत्रं परिहारं च । अत्र निबद्धा लिपिः सुविशेनाज्ञप्तो प्रतिभारक्षितो राजामात्योऽलेखीत् । संवत्सरे २४

१२ वर्षाणां पक्षे ४ दिवसे पंचमे ५ पूजितानां कार्ये । निबन्धो विबद्धः संवत्सरे २४ ग्रीष्मपक्षे ४ । दिवसे १० ।

TRANSLATION.

To the Perfect One. Victorious in Senānī (leader of the army of the gods), who is on the gate of the Vijayatīrtha (1) in Govardhana. The prosperous Śātakarṇi Gautmīputra, the Lord of Dhanakaṭaka, commands Viṣṇupālita, the Royal officer in Govardhana : *We grant to the men in the village* (2) who have renounced the world, the field in the Village (measuring) two hundred 200 Nivartanas (3) which is to the south-west, and is at present enjoyed by Usabhadāsa. We grant the appurtenances also of this said field. It (4) is not to be entered on or interfer-

ed with by others, not to include what has been granted (before) or may be dug out, and not to be subject to the rules (in matters of revenue) applicable to (other parts of) the country, and to include all (5) that may grow on it. [We grant] with these restrictions (various conditions) this said field and these appurtenances. This charter (lit. composition) is engraved by the Royal officer Śivagupta, at the dictation of a learned man. The great lord gave another field in the previous year, 19, on the... day of the 4th fortnight of Varṣā, for the sake of the ascetics.

To the Perfect one. This is a Royal command to be issued to Śramaka, the Royal officer in Govardhana. Śramaka, the Royal officer in Govardhana, should be given this command at the orders of King Śātakarṇi Gautamīputra, and of the Great Queen (6) the honoured Vāsiṣṭhī, the mother of the King. Formerly a field was granted in the south-westerly direction in the village to mendicants who had renounced the world, living in the cave-temple, which is our benefaction, on Mount Triraśmi, the haunt (of ascetics) situated in Govardhana. That field measures one hundred, and the village, nine hundred. On the boundary of the town, at the place where the field measuring one hundred lies, there is a field belonging to the Crown which is our patrimony. Out of this field we grant one hundred nivartanas lying in the openings of Triraśmi (7) and the appurtenances of the plot. It is not to be entered on or interfered with by others, not to include what has been granted or may be dug out, and not to be subject to the rules applicable to (the other parts of) the country, and to include all that may grow on it. [We grant] with these restrictions (various conditions), this said field and its appurtenances. Pratibhārakṣita, the Royal officer, engraved this charter here at the dictation of a learned man. In the year 24, 4th fortnight of Varṣā, on the 5 fifth day. For the sake of the worshipful (persons) this charter (8) was written (composed) on the 10th of the fourth (?) fortnight of Grīṣma in the year 24.

NOTES.

It will thus be seen that this Inscription consists of two charters containing grants of land to the mendicant priests and recluses. The first was issued by Śātakarṇi Gautamīputra, and the second by Vāsiṣṭhī his Queen. Dr. Stevenson thinks it to be a deed of sale executed by the proprietor of Govardhana, as he calls him, conveying the field over which this cave is constructed to Gautamīputra's agent, and thinks the second part to be merely a repetition of the first. The cave is excavated out of the rock, and there could be no field there to convey. His translation therefore is wrong in many places.

(1). गोवर्धनस्य cannot be connected with स्वामी, since this latter forms the second part of a compound word. It must, therefore, be taken with the preceding. Vijayatīrtha must have been the name of a shrine or sacred place in Govardhana, and an image of Senānī must have been placed or carved out on its gate, as is not unusual in Hindu houses or temples.

(2). अस्य for इमस seems to refer to the village spoken of in l. 2. The village must be one near Govardhana and Triraśmi.

(3). Nivartana is thus defined:—दशहस्तेन दण्डेन त्रिंशद्दण्डा निवर्तनम्, Bṛhaspati ; सप्तहस्तेन दण्डेन त्रिंशद्दण्डा निवर्तनम्, Matsya Purāṇa, both quoted by Hemādri (Dānakhaṇḍa ed. Bib. Ind. p. 505).

(4). The epithets, अप्रावेश्यम् etc., qualify क्षेत्रम् in l. 3.

(5). परिहारम् l. 5 is in the accusative, wherefore वितराम: is to be understood, or the accusative may be connected with the वितराम: occurring in l. 3.

(6). If the expression वजि were taken as equivalant to वार्ता, चर्चा or some such word, the sense would be : "At the orders of the Great Queen of king Sātakarṇi Gautmīputra, the honoured Vāsiṣṭhī."

(7). Triraśmi is used in the plural in Inscription No. 17. The name probably derived its origin from the fact that there are

three hills in one line, detached from the adjoining ranges, on one of which the caves exist. Between these hills there are plains or valleys ; and the field conveyed by Vāsiṣṭhī was perhaps in one of these.

(8). निबन्ध:. This word originally signifies any piece of composition. It is then applied to the piece of composition issuing from a king. Hence the legal word निबन्ध, which signifies any hereditary office conveyed by a royal charter. The word is used in Inscription No. 18, l. 4.

No. 17.

१. सिद्धम् । राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामात्रा दीनीकपुत्रेण उषवदातेन त्रिगोशतसहस्रदेन नद्यां[।] बार्णासायां सुवर्णदानतीर्थकरेण देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडशग्रामदेन अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मणशतसाहस्रीं भोजापयित्रा

२. प्रभासे पुण्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्याप्रदेन भरुकच्छे दशपुरे गोवर्धने शोर्परगे च चतुशालावसथप्रातिश्रयप्रदेन आरामतडाग उदपानकरेण इबापारादा दमणतापीकरबेणादाहनुका[नां] नावा पुण्यतरकरेण एतासां च नदीनां उभतो[य]तीरं सभा—

३. प्रपाकरेण पींडितकावडे गोवर्धने सुवर्णमुखे शोर्परगे च रामतीर्थे चरक[ण?]पर्षद्भ्यः ग्रामे नानगोले द्वात्रिंशत् नाळीगेरमूलसहस्रप्रदेन गोवर्धने त्रिरश्मिषु पर्वतेषु धर्मात्मना इदं लेणं कारितं इमा च पोढियो भट्टारका आणतिया च गतोस्मि वर्षारतुं मलये...हितवं उतमभद्रं मोचयितुं

४. ते च मालया प्रनादेनेव अपयाता उत्तमभद्रकानं च क्षत्रियानं सर्वे परिग्रहा कृता ततोस्मि गतो पोक्षराणिं तत्र च मया अभिसेकः कृतो त्रिणि च गोसहस्रानि दतानि ग्रामो च.

No. 19.

दतं चानेन क्षेत्रं ब्राह्मणस्य वराहपुत्रस अश्विभूतिस हथे क्रीणितं मूलेन काहापणसहस्रेहि[।] चतुहि ४००० [।] यं सपितसतकनगरसीमाय उतरापराय दिसाय एतो मम लेने वसतानं चातुदिसस भिखुसंघस मुखाहारो भविसति.

TRANSLATION.

To the Perfect one. This Cave and these small tanks were caused to be constructed on the Mounts Triraśmi (1) in Govardhana, by the benevolent Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of

King Kṣaharāta Satrapa Nahapāṇa (2), son of Dīnīka, who gave three hundred thousand cows, presented gold, and constructed flights of steps on the river Bārṇāsā, gave sixteen villages to gods and Brahmans, fed a hundred thousand Brahmans every year, provided (the means of marrying) eight wives for Brahmans at Prabhāsa (3), the holy place, constructed quadrangles (4), houses and halting-places at Bharukacchha, Daśapura, Govardhana and Śorparaga, made gradens, tanks and wells, charitably enabled men to cross Ibā, Pārādā, Damaṇā, Tāpī, Karabeṇā and Dāhanukā by placing boats (5) on them ; constructed Dharmaśālās and endowed places for the distribution of water, and gave capital worth a thousand for thirty-two Nāḍhigeras (6) for the Caraṇas (7) and Pariṣads in Pīṇḍitakāvaḍa, Govardhana, Suvārṇamukha, Śorparaga, Rāmatīrtha and in the village of Nānagola. By the command of the Lord I went in the rainy (8) season to Mālaya to release Hirudha the Uttambhadra (9). The Mālayas fled away at the sound (of our war music), and were all made subjects of the Kṣatriyas, the Uttamabhadras. Thence I went to Pokṣaraṇi and there performed ablutions, and gave three thousand cows and a village.

NOTES.

The first part of this inscription is in Sanskrit. The latter part contains a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit.

(1). For Triraśmi see note No. 26, l. 10 and No. 25, l. 9.

(2). I think upon the whole that this way of interpreting the expression is more in consonance with known facts than making Nahapāṇa satrap of a king named Kṣaharāta.

(3). Prabhāsa, as Dr. stevenson says, is a place near Paṭṭaṇ Somnāth or Somnath itself. Bharukaccha is now known to be Broach. Daśapura must be some place in Gujarat or in the Maratha country bordering on Gujarat. It occurs in Inscription No. 1. Śorparaga is Supara near Bassein. The Damaṇā and Dāhanukā must be rivers flowing into the sea at those places in the Thana District. Tapī is well-known.. The others I am

not able to identify. Rāmatīrtha is, I am told, a small place near Sopara. Uṣavadāta's charities do not seem to have gone further to the north than Gujarat, or further to the south than the northern district of the Poona District. The expedition to the south described in the Inscription was occasional, the object being to assist a friendly race of Kṣatriyas.

(4) चतुःशाला is a house with an open quadrangle in the middle and halls on four sides. It has an entrance in each of the four directions : चतुःशालं चतुर्द्वारैरलिन्दैः सर्वतोमुखम् ॥ नाम्ना तत्सर्वतोभद्रं शुभं देवनृपालये (Matsya Purāṇa). प्रतिश्रय is what is in these days called an अन्नसत्र, a place where travellers put up and are fed without charge.

(5). °दाहणुकानावापुण्यतरकरेण. दाहणु or दाहणुका may be taken as one name, and कानावा or नावा another and the words पुण्यतरकरेण as forming one compound with them and the rest. But the word नावा is here in such a position that one cannot but think it was intended to signify a " boat ". Then नावा would be instrumental singular, and would stand at the end of the long compound. But the several rivers could not have but one boat ; and if the word नौ formed part of the compound, the sense would not be appropriate, for it would appear as if what Uṣavadāta did was to render the " passage across " possible by means of the boats of Ibā, Pārādā, etc. But the sense required is not the *boats* of Ibā, Pārādā etc., but the *passage* of Ibā, Pārādā etc. *by means of a boat.* Hence I think there ought to have been one ना more, with a dot above it, so as to make it °दाहणुकानां नावा पुण्यतरकरेण and probably that letter must have been omitted by the engraver through mistake, as writers often do when they have two or more similar letters to write in succession.

(6). द्वात्रिंशन्नाडीगेरमूलसहस्र. I have translated the expression as in the text, since there is a similar expression in No. 16 (चीवरिककुशणमूलं), and in No. 18, in the last line, which must be so translated. I do not know what sense to attach to नाडीगेर or नाळीगेर as it is written in No. 16. Since even in this Sanskrit

inscription the word stands thus, it must signify something which was usually called by this name alone, and not by its Sanskrit analogue, supposing it had any. Perhaps it may be traced to माङ्गलिक, a place where anything religiously auspicious was performed, since the gift is to Caraṇas and Pariṣads. Dr. Stevenson's supposition that it signifies some currency will not do at all.

(7). I think we we must read here चरण instead of चरक.

(8). वर्षारतुं is intended in this Sanskrit-Prakrit inscription for वर्षाऋतौ or वर्षर्तौ.

(9). This was the name of the Kṣatriya race whom Uṣavadāta went to assist.

Dr. Stevenson's translation of this is correct except in three or four places.

No. 19.

This forms portion of No. 17, and is mosıtly a mixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit, like the latter part of No. 17.

अभिभूतिस हथे=अभिभूतेर्हस्ते " in the hands of Aśribhūti ". This expression occurs in No. 12, l. 5, and No. 26A, l. 13. Since the body of mendicants was itinerant, it was necessary to entrust the benefactions to some persons. —यसपितसतक. This expression seems to correspond to यत्सप्तशतकं, and must be taken to qualify क्षेत्रम्. The meaning would then be, " which field measuring seven hundred " (probably Nivartanas). The usual Prakrit representative of सप्त is सत, but सपित is not unlike the character of this inscription, whtch is rather corrupt Sanskrit than Prakrit. Or, सपितसतकनगर may be taken as one noun forming the name of a place. I was told at Nasik that there is a place of the name of सतपुर=सप्तपुर in the vicinity. वसतानं भिखुसंघस = वसतां भिक्षुसंघस्य ; not good grammar. मुखाहारो, I saw a faint perpendicular stroke below, representing the vowel उ. The expression seems to signify " the chief sustenance. " [1] It may be taken as corresponding to मुख्याहारो. Or if the stroke is not real, the expression is मगाहारो=मार्गाहारो " provision for journey ". But beggars can

1, Compare the use of अग्र in अग्रहार.

hardly be under the necessity of taking provisions with them while on a journey, for they go begging.

The Sanskrit of the inscription is therefore as follows:

दत्तं चानेन क्षेत्रं ब्राह्मणस्याश्रिभूतेर्हस्ते क्रीतं मूलेन कार्षापणसहस्रैश्चतुर्भिः ४००० यत्सप्तशतकं नगरसीमाया उत्तरपरायां दिशायाम् । एतस्मान्मम लयने वसतां चातुर्दिशस्य भिक्षुसंघस्य मुखाहारो भविष्यति.

TRANSLATION.

He, Uṣavadāta, has also given a field in the possession [lit. in the hands] of Aśribhūti, the son of a Brahman (named) Varārha. It was bought for the sum of four thousand Kārṣāpaṇas, measures seven hundred, and is in the north-westerly direction from the boundary of the town. This shall be the chief support of mendicant priests from the four quarters residing in my cave.

NOTES.

Dr. Stevenson's translation of this is altogether wrong. The grantor, according to him, was a person whose father was from the city of Sataka, and mother of the province of Uttarārha. He seems to have divided the words beginning with य thus :— यस पित सतकनगरस माय उतराहरय, and in doing so, he neglected the grammar of the sentence, the text, and the following word दिसाय. He was, however, misled to some extent by the copy of the inscription he had before him. He also represents the donor to have given " a cave to the dejected ", and speaks of " a sin-removing abode for the Buddhistic priesthood ".

No. 18.

उषवदातेन संघस चातुदिसस इमं लेणं नियातितं दता चानेन अखयं निवि काहापणसहस्रा

२ एते च काहापणा पयुता गोवधनवाथवासु श्रेणिसु कोलिकनिकाये २००० वृधि [.] पडिकशतं अपरकोलिकाणिका

३ एतो मम लेणे वसुवथानं भिखुनं वीसिय एकेकस चिवरिकं[.] बारसकं[.] च[.]

सहस्रं प्रयुतं[.] पायुनपाडिके(क)शते अतो कुसण

४ स्रावितं[.] निगमसभाय निबंध[.] [धो] च फलकवारे चरित्रं[.] तोति भूयोनेन

वृतं[.] वसे ४१ कानिकशुधे पनरसे पुवाकवसे ४०

५ पनरसनियुते[.] भगवतां[.] देवानं ब्राह्मणानं च कर्षापणसहस्राणि सतरि ४०००

पचत्रि-[.] शकसुवर्णकतादिन[.] सुवर्णसहस्ताण(णि) मूल्यं[.]

Line. I. वृतत. This looks likes वृतं in the original, but there is little doubt that it must be वृतत. --अक्षय निधि, or properly नीवि is "permanent capital". --काहापणसहस्रा. Though there is no mark of the obliteration of any letters after this, still there is no doubt some are wanted at the end of the first and second lines and perhaps of the third. Probably at some later time somebody must have smoothed off that part of the rock. At the end of this first line what is wanted is the number of the sahasras or thousands bestowed and also the termination नि(नि) after सहसा.

Line. 2. प्रयुता = प्रयुक्ता " Laid out at interest, invested". --वायवासु=वास्तव्यासु. --वुधि=वृद्धि "interest". --पडिक=प्रतिक "what is worth a Kārṣāpana " [1]. After निका, ये and words expressive of the amount deposited or invested, together perhaps with that of the interest, are required.

Line. 3. वसवुथानं. This is to be traced to वर्षावास्तुवास्. The word वसावथस occurs in Inscription No. 12. Buddhistie mendicants generally wandered about during fair weather, and resided in one place durning the four rainy months ; and then they held what was called their *vassa*, corresponding to वर्ष, and read what was called *bana*.[2] चीरिक =चिवरिका. For it is clear (see translation) that he left two thousand Kārṣāpaṇas for providing civarikas. The donor in Inscription No. 12 leaves a hundred Kārṣāpaṇas

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1 See Vārtika on Pāṇini V. 1. 25.

2 See Hardy, Eastern Monachism, chapter XIX.

and directs that the one mendicant residing in his cave should be provided with a cīvarika ; so that if one hundred suffices for *one*, two thousand ought to suffice for *twenty*. And the cave in which this inscription occurs has accommodation for so many, for there are sixteen cells in the interior, and two larger ones at the two ends, each of them sufficient for two. —चिवरिक, or properly चीवरिक, is the garment worn by Buddhistic mendicants. वारसकं = वार्षिकं, meaning "belonging to or given in the rains " or " annual ". The robing month among the Buddhistic mendicants was the third of the rainy season, when laymen presented garments to them.[1] That was a regular ceremony ; hence these gifts. Endowments of this nature are recorded in Inscriptions No. 12 and 21, and in Nos. 16, 17, 18, 24, 39, 44, at Kanheri[2], in which latter the words अखयनीवि, पडिक, वसवथस, चीवरिक, and वारसक occur. In the first of these (No. 16) we have distinctly the words एतो च वसारते वसतस भिखुणो चिवरिक =एतस्माच्च वर्षाकृतौ वसतो भिक्षुकस्य चीवरिकम्. —पाडुन. I take this to be equal to पादोन " less by a quarter ". The interest of two thousand was one hundred ; of this capital "a quarter less," i. e. seventy-five. —कुसण. I have not been able to determine the sense of this word ; but probably it means something connected with the Buddhistic rite of Kasina (Spence Hardy's East. Mon. Chap. XXI).

Line 4. निगमसभाय. Instr. sing. = " by the assembly or corporation of the town ", or " by the townspeople generally ". It may be taken as Gen. or Loc. sing. also. — For निबंधो see note, Inscription No. 25. --फलकवारे. वार means " a door " (see note, Inscripition No. 25), and फलक " a slab, " " the door of a slab of stone ". It should rather be वारफलके = " on the slab of the door " (see note 6, Inscr. No. 26). — तोति = स्तौति. After the figure for 40 there is a vertical stroke, which does not seem to signify anything ; or if it does, it perhaps shows that there is no odd number after 40.

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1 See Hardy, *l. c.* Chapter XII.

2 See Mr. West's copies. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume VI.

Line 5. भगवतां is not Prakrit. —सतरि is a mistake for चतरि. —सुवर्णकतानंदिनं. It is difficult to say what कतावि or तावि corresponds to.

SANSKRIT OF No. 18.

१ उषवदातेन संघस्य चातुर्दिशस्येदं लयनं निर्यातितम् । दत्ता चानेनाक्षयनीविः कार्षापणसहस्रा[णि ३००० !] ।

२ एते च कार्षापणाः प्रयुक्ता गोवर्धनवास्तव्यासु श्रेणीषु । कौलिकनिकाये २००० वृद्धिः प्रतिकशतम् । अपरकौलिकनिका [ये १००० !] ।

३ एतस्मान्मम लयने वर्षावास्तूनां भिक्षूणां विंशत्या एकैकस्य चीवरिकं वार्षिकम् । यत्सहस्रं प्रयुक्तं पादोनप्रतिकशतेऽतः कुशनम् ।

४ श्रावितं निगमसमया निबन्धश्च फलकद्वारे चरित्रं स्तौति । भूयोऽनेन दत्तं वर्षे ४१ कार्तिकशुद्धे पञ्चदशे पूर्वकवर्षे ४०.

५ पञ्चदशनियुते भगवतां[द्भ्यः] देवानां[वेभ्यः] ब्राह्मणानां[णेभ्यः] च कार्षापणसहस्राणि चत्वारि ४००० पञ्चत्रिंशक सुवर्ण ...दीनां सुवर्णसहस्राणि मूल्यम् ।

TRANSLATION OF No. 18.

This cave has been dedicated by Uṣavadāta to the (mendicant) priesthood of four quarters. He has also given a permanent capital of [3000 three (1)] thousand Kārṣāpaṇas. The Kārṣāpaṇas are deposited with the guilds residing in Govardhana; with the body of weavers 2000, interest a hundred Kārṣāpaṇas, with the other body of weavers [1000 a thousand]. From this [interest, should be given] a garment in the rainy season to each of the twenty mendicants residing during the rains in my cave. From the 1000 (2) laid out at an interest of three-quarters of a hundred Kārṣāpaṇas, Kuśana [should be provided]. This good deed has been published in the assembly of the town (or amongst the towns-people), and this inscription on the slab-door praises it. Moreover, in the year 41, on the fifteenth of the bright half of Kārtika, and in the previous year 40, on the fifteenth, he gave 4000 four thousand Kārṣāpaṇas and a capital of thousands of Suvarṇas for [the acquisition of] thirty-five golden Katādis, to the worshipful gods and Brahmans.

NOTES.

(1). I gather that the sum he deposited was three-thousand from Inscription No. 16, which also mentions this endowment.

(2). This must have been the thousand deposited with the other body of weavers.

Dr. Stevenson's translation of this is wrong, with the exception of that of the first line. He did not understand चीवरिकं, बारसकं, वृधि, श्रेणी, and such other words.

No. 16.

१ सिधं रञो क्षहरातस क्षत्रपस नहपानस दीहि--

२ तु दीनीकपुत्रस उषवदातस कुटुंबिनीय दखमित्राय देयधंमं उवरको

३ सिधं वसे ४२ वेसाखमासे रञो क्षहरातस क्षत्रपस नहपानस जामातर दीनीकपुत्रेण

४ बि लिपि १००० संघस चातुदिसस य इमस्मिं लेणे वसातानं भविसति चिव-रिककुशणमुलं च--

५ ये १००० वधि पायुनपडिकशतं [.] एते च काहापणा अपडिदातवा वधिभो-[मा]जा एतो चिवरिक सहस्रानि बे २००० ये पडिके[क]सते[त].

६ मुलं [.] कापुराहारे च गामे चिखलपद्रे दतानि नाडिगेरानं [.] मुलसहस्रानि अठ ८००० एतं [.] च सवं [.] फलकवारे चरित्रं [.] तोति.

The first two lines of the above form an independent inscription, which is the same as No. 20.

उवरको from अपवरकम् "an inner apartment." From the same word comes ओवरी f., a provincial Marathi word having the same sense.

TRANSLATION OF NO. 16, LINES 1, 2.

To the Perfect one. This appartment is the benefaction of Dakhamitrā, the daughter of King Kshaharāta Satrap Nahapāna and wife of Uṣavadāta, son of Dinīka.

Line 4. नि तिणि. Two or more letters which are required before the first नि must have dropped. There is, however, no indication of the existence of any in the original. दता at least is wanted so as to make the first word दतानि. --वासातानं. This may be the genitive of the present participle वसत् Sk., वसन्त Pr., or may be equivalent to वर्षास्थान: " living during the rains."

Line 5. वधियोजा or वधिभाजा=वृद्धिभाज: "bearing interest".

As to the rest, see notes on No. 18.

SANSKRIT OF No. 16, Lines 3-6.

३ सिद्धम् । वर्षे ४२ वैशाखमासे राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामात्रा दीनिकपुत्रेण

४ [दत्ता] नि त्रीणि ३००० संघस्य[थाय] चातुर्दिशस्य योऽस्मिंल्लयने वसतां [or वर्षास्थानो] भविष्यति चीवरिककुशनमूलम् । च—

५ ये १००० वृद्धिः पादोनप्रतिकशतम् । एतेच कार्षापणा अप्रतिदातव्या वृद्धि-भाजः । एतस्माच्चीवरिकसहस्रे द्वे २००० ये प्रतिकशत–

६ मूलम् । कापुराहारे च ग्राम चिखलपाद्रे दत्तानि नाडिगेराणां मूलसहस्राण्यष्ट ८००० । एतच्च सर्वं फलकद्वारे चरित्रं स्तौति ।

Translation of No. 16, Lines 3-6.

To the Perfect One. In the year 42, in the month of Vaiśākha, the son of Dīnika, and son-in-law of King Kshaharāta Satrap Nahapāna, gave three thousand 3000 to the priesthood from the four quarters residing (1) in this cave during the rains, as capital for [providing] garments and Kuśana. Out of this sum, on 1000 the interest is three quarters of a hundred [i. e., 75] Kārṣāpaṇas (2). These Kārṣāpaṇas, bearing interest, are not to be repaid. Out of this [sum] two thousand, which is the capital bearing an interest of one hundred Kārṣāpaṇas, is for garments (3). A capital of 8000 for Nādigeras was given in Kapurāhāra, and the village of Cikhalapādra. All this [inscription] on the slab-door praises the good deeds.

NOTES.

(1). The syntactical connexion, when वसतां is the reading, is °आस्मिहँयने वसतां यः संघो भविष्यति तस्मै संघाय दत्तानि. With वर्षास्थान: there is no difficulty.

(2). Out of this interest Kuśana was to be provided (see No. 18 and below).

(3). Lit. "Two are Cīvarika-thousands, those that are the capital bearing an interest of 100 Paḍikas." चीवरिकार्थे सहस्रे चीवरिकसहस्रे ते.

From this and No. 18 it appears clear that Uṣavadāta gave three thousand Kārṣāpaṇas; — two deposited with one body of weavers, bearing an interest of 100 Paḍikas or Kārṣāpaṇas, from which cīvarikas or garments were to be provided, and one with another body of weavers, bearing an interest of 75 Paḍikas, out of which Kuśana was to be given. Lines 4 and 5 of this and 3 of No. 18 are thus consistent with each other.

We see from the above that the cave was dedicated to the use of mendicants in the year 42, and from No. 28 that Uṣavadāta bestowed other charities in the years 41 and 40. What era these are to be referred to will be considered in the remarks.

Nearly the whole of Dr. Stevenson's translation of this is wrong.

No. 14.

१ तस क्षत्रपस नहपानस जामा

२ शकस उषवदातस नेत्यकेसु

३ चेचिके दाहनुकानगरे केकापुरे

४ चके अनुगामिहि उजनिय सखाय

५ गयतो ब्राह्मणा भुजतो सतसाह

[.] [.]

६ गयतो ब्राह्मणानं गर्धा सतस

[·]
७ चता दवानं ब्राह्मणानं च दता
८ चेत्र सुधे पनरसे खहरा
९ न गर्वा शतसहस्रदेन उष
१० रहण नदीय बणासाय द
११ सुध २ तिथ चण्जेयते लस
१२ चीत

These lines are complete on the right-hand side, but incomplete on the left, the rock having broken off on that side. There is, therefore, not one sentence complete. Still the general sense is clear, as will be seen from the following.

Translation of No. 14.

1 Son-in-law of Satrap Nahapāna ——t
2 Usual deeds of Ushavadāta, the Śaka (1)
3 In Cecika, city of Dāhanukā, Kekāpura
4 In each village, in Ujjayinī (2), Sikhā
5 [Feeding] a hundred thousand worshipful Brahmans
6 [Giving) a hundred (thousand) cows to the worshipful Brahmans
7 Given to gods and Brahmans
8 On (3) the fifteenth of the bright half of Caitra, Kṣaharā
9 Uṣa(vadāta) who gave a hundred thousand cows
10 On the river Baṇāsā
11 Second of bright half

The Inscription thus appears to be of the nature of No. 17, recording nearly the same charities.

Notes

(1) This has been usually taken to be Śaka, as if there were no doubt about it, but it is not quite safe to do so in the mutilated state of the Inscription.

(2) This is not without doubt.

(3) Another inscription seems to begin here, since Kṣaharāta appears again.

No. 6.

सादवाहनकुले कण्हराजिन नासिककेन
[.] [.]
समणेण महामातेण लेणं कारितं

Sanskrit.

१ सातवाहनकुले कृष्णराजस्य नासिककेन
२ श्रमणेन महामात्रेण लयनं कारितम् ।

[This] cave was caused to be constructed by the Śramaṇa officer of Kṛṣṇarāja of the Śātavāhana race, residing in Nāsika.

कण्ह is well known to be the Prakrit form of Kṛṣṇa.[1] नासिकक belonging to or inhabitant of Nāsika. The termination वुञ् or अक is added upon the analogy of the words embraced in Pāṇ. IV. 2. 121-130. This Inscription is not translated by Dr. Stevenson.

This Kṛṣṇarāja was the second king of the Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty of the Purāṇas, as will be shown in the remarks.

No. 3.

१ सिधं रणो वासिठिपुतस सामि सरिपुलु-
२ माइस संवच्छरे २ हेमंतपखे ४ दिवसे-
३ एतिय पुवाय ट(क)टुंबिकेण धनमेण इण.

To the Perfect One. In the year 2 of the King, the Lord, the prosperous Pulumai, the son of Vāsiṣṭhī, in the 4th fortnight of Hemanta, on—day. Before this, by the householder or husbandman Dhanama.

No. 27.

१ सिधं रणो वासठिपुतस सरपडुमयस सवच्छरे च्छ ? ठे ६ गिमपखे पचमे[.] ५ दिवसे.

To the Perfect One. In the sixth year of the King, the prosperous Paḍumaya, the son of Vāsiṣṭhī, in the — fortnight of Grīṣma, on the fifth ? day.

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1 Vararuci-Prakṛta-Prakāśa III. 33.

No. 4

१ सिधं रणो गोतमिपुतस [सामिसिरियणसतकणिस संवछरे सातमे ७ हेमंतणपखे ततिये ३

२ दिवसे पंचमे केसिकस महासेणापतिस च(भ)वगोपस भरिजाय महासेणा-पतिणिय वसुय लेणं

३ बोपकियतिस अमाने[मन ?]स पयवसिते समणे बहुकानि वरिसाणि उकुते पयवसाणं नितं चातुदि-

४ सस च भिखुसंघस आ(अ)यने दतेति.

Line 2. वसुया. वसु or वसू may be the name of the lady or a term of honour used in her case, as बस or वस in the case of those spoken of in Inscription No. 24. Probably the वासु of dramatical language is the same as this.

Line 3. बोपाकियातिस अमनस = बोपकियतेर्यमनस्य. Or if the स, which with the vertical stroke looks like अ, is to be so taken, बोपकियति अजमानेस = बोपकियति आर्यमान्यस्य. This will not necessitate माने being considered a mistake for मन. उकुते—उत्कृत्य. उत्कीर्य is the word we should expect to find in such a case; but कृत् has the sense of "cutting," and with उत्, of "cutting out," which would do very well in the present case. ते in उकुते is the representative of तिअ = त्य.

SANSKRIT of No. 4.

१. सिद्धम् । राज्ञो गौतमीपुत्रस्य स्वामिश्रीयज्ञशातकर्णेः संवत्सरे सप्तमे ७ हेमन्त-पक्षे तृतीये ३.

२. दिवसे पञ्चमे कैशिकस्य महासेनापतेर्भवगोपस्य भार्याया महासेनापत्न्या वस्वा लयनम् ।

३ बोपकियतेर्यमनस्य पर्यवसिते श्रमणे बहुकानि वर्षाण्युत्कृत्य पर्यवसानं नीतं चातुर्दि-

४. शस्य च भिक्षुसंघस्यायने दत्तमिति.

TRANSLATION of No. 4.

To the Perfect One. On the fifth day, in the 3rd third fortnight of Hemanta, in the 7th seventh year of the King, the Lord, the prosperous Yajña Śātakarṇi, Gautamīputra, (1) the Cave of Vasū, Lady Senāpati, the wife of Bhavagopa, the Senāpati (commander-in-chief), inhabitant of Keśi was, the Śramana (2) having died, carried to completion, after having been under excavation for many years, for (or by) Yamana (3), the ascetic of Bopaki (or for the ascetic of Bopaki honoured by good men), and given for the use (lit. protection) of mendicant priests from the four quarters.

NOTES.

1. She is called सेनापत्नी, not because she commanded any army, but because she was the wife of the सेनापति or commander of the army. The only way I can think of, of conveying this sense when another expression भवगोपस्य भार्या has also to be translated, is that adopted in the text.

2. The Śramaṇa must have been the husband of the lady.

3. I am not quite satisfied with this. I was attempting so to construe the expression बोपकियतिस जमानेस as to yield the sense "having done so-and-so or while this was doing, the Śramaṇa died ; " but have not suceeded. So the best way is to take the genitive and interpret it by the prepositions " for " or " by ". And there is Hemacandra's authority for it. तादर्थ्ये ङेर्वा । तादर्थ्ये विहितस्य ङेश्चतुर्थ्येकवचनस्य स्थाने षष्ठी भवति । क्वचिद्द्वितीयादेः । ......स्थाने षष्ठी भवति

Dr. Stevenson's translation of this is mistaken in many places. He takes the third line to consist of names only.

Who is the Gautamīputra here spoken of ? Dr. Stevenson translates descendant of "King Gotamīputra ". But there is no word here which means " descendant ". And this king Yajña is called Gautamīputra in the other inscriptions in which

he is named.[1] It appears to have been a custom in the case of these kings to apply to them an epithet expressive of their being the sons of certain mothers. The Great Gautamīputra was so called because he was the son of Gautamī, though his real name was Śātakarṇi. Puḍumāyi was called Vasiṣṭhīputra because he was the son of Vasiṣṭhī. In the same manner, Yajña Śātakarṇi must have been called Gautamīputra because his mother also was named Gautamī.

No. 15.

The language of this inscription is Sanskrit, with the exception of but a few words. It is considerably mutilated towards the end. Even in the first part the letters are not fully formed, and have to be determined by the sense and context. In most cases, however, my readings are obvious, and can admit of little doubt.

१ सिधं । राज्ञो दमरीपुत्रस्य शिवदत्ताभीरपुत्रस्य
२ आभीरस्य वीरसेनस्य संवत्सरे नवमे गि-
३ ह्मे पक्षे चोथे ४ दिवसे त्रयोदशे १३
४ यापुवयागकर्णवर्मणः दुहित्रा गणपक-
५ रेभिलस्य भार्यया गणपकस्य विश्ववर्मस्य
६ भातृकनि[न्य]कया उपासिकया विष्णुदत्तया सर्वसत्वहि-
७ तसुखार्थं त्रिराश्मिपर्वतविहारवास्तव्यस्य चातुर्दिश-
८ भिक्षुसंघस्य———भेषजार्थमक्षयनीवी प्रयुक्ता वि[ध?]नवा[स्त]-
९ व्यासु आगतानागतासु श्रेणीषु । यतः कुलरीकश्रेण्या हस्ते कार्षापण
१० सहस्रं १०००—यान्त्रिकश्रेण्यां सहस्राणि [द्वे] द्वे २ ....
११ ण्यां शतानि पंच ५०० तिलपिषकश्रेण्यां शता ....
१२ एते च कार्षापणा चताला पदा .... ण्यदिव ....
१३ —...नस्य म सवृद्धिकं सपरक्षतिविद्र....

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1 See Kanheri Cave Inscriptions, No. 44, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume VI.

Notes

1. शिव is doubtful.

4. याडुवयाग is unintelligible. कर्णवर्मण: may be °काग्निवर्मण:, in which case the name is अग्निवर्मन् and the क the last syllable of the preceding word.

6. कनिकया is very likely कन्यकया. The first two letters are unintelligible, but they may have been intended for भ्रातृ or कृत, so that the whole compound is भ्रातृकन्यकया or कृतकन्यकया.

8. The three letters after संघस्य are unintelligible. They may have been intended for भिक्षूणाम् or वसनम्. —घनया. One or two letters are lost here. Probably the word was गोवर्धन.

9. कुलरीक was probably intended for कौलिक.

10. The first two letters before यांत्रिक are unintelligible. They may have been intended for वेणु. This and the succeeding lines have lost a good many letters.

Translation.

To the Perfect One. On the 13th day of the fourth fortnight of Grīṣma in the 9th year of the king Vīrasena, the Abhīra, the son of Śivadattābhīra and of Damarī, a permanent capital was deposited as follows with the guilds residing now or in future in Govardhana (?) by the worshipper Viṣṇudattā, the daughter of Karṇavarman, wife of Rebhila Gaṇapaka (the leader of a host), and niece (or adopted daughter) of Viśvavarman Gaṇapaka (the leading host), for the benefit and good of all creatures, and for providing medicine to the body of the mendicant priests residing in the caves on mount Triraśmi :— A thousand Kārṣāpaṇas with the guild of the weavers, two thousand with the guild of the — engineers, five hundred with the guild of — and — hundred with the guild of the grinders of sesamum (oilmen). These Kārṣāpaṇas — together with interest —

This is a new Inscription, and was not translated before.

No. 1.

१ सिधं शकस दामचिकस लेखकस बुधिकस

२ विण्हुदतपुत्रस दसपुरवाथवस लेणं[b] पो-

३ ढियो च दो २ अतो एका पोढिया अपर...स मे माता,

४ .... त्तो उदिस.

To the Perfect One. [This] cave and [these] two tanks are [the benefaction] of the Śaka Dāmacika, writer [or engraver] and usurer (or carpenter), son of Viṣṇudatta and inhabitant of Dasapura. One of these tanks . . . is intended for (the spiritual good of) my father and mother.

NOTES.

वुधिकस = वृद्धिकस्य probably " a usurer ", or = वर्धक " a carpenter ". वाथवस = वास्तव्यस्य. उदिस = उद्दिश्य.

No. 2.

१ सिधं सकस दामचिकस

२ लेखकस वुधिकस पोढि

To the Perfect One. Tank of Dāmacika,! the Śaka, writer [or engraver] and usurer [or carpenter].

No. 5.

१ सेयवसोवि[.] उपासि-

२ काया मम्माया लयनं

This cave is the benefaction of Marmā, a worshipper.

No. 8.

१ नासिककनंधभिकगामस दानं[.]

Benefaction of Nandabhikagāma, inhabitant of Nāsika.

Nos. 9 and 10.

These two are parts of one inscription, both together forming but one sentence. No. 10 is the first and No. 9 the second part.

१ रायामच अ[व]रहक[सी ?]यस पलिसीलने[ण]कस दुहुतुय महाहकसी-

२ य तटपालिकाय रायामचस आगियतणकस तटाकारकी-

३ यस भारियाय कपणणकमातुय चेतियघरं[.] पवते

४ त[ि]रुण्हम[ि] निठपापि[.]

L. 1. The first letter does not occur in Mr. West's copy. Lieut. Brett's has it. The initial letter of the second word, read as अ, may have been intended for स, in which case we have the genitive रायामचस. —In रहलयस the ह may have been intended for डी, in which case the expression would mean "native of रहल." In such inscriptions it is usual to mention the native places of the persons named. —णक. This syllable occurs at the end of each of the three names of men. Very likely it is an honorific termination corresponding to our modern Marāṭhī नाक appended to the names of Mahārs, and traced to the Sanskrit नायक. —कुसीय. This may be कासीयं or केसीय.

L. 2. तटपालिकाय = तटपालिकया or भटपालिकया. The first means "protectress of a fortress" and the second "of soldiers", but भटपालिका is an unusual expression. Perhaps it is तटपालकीय, used as an attribute of the following noun, and meaning "native of" or "residing in तटपालिक". तटाकारकीयस = "native of तटाकारक" perhaps, but it would not do to take it so if the word तट-पालकीय were to be interpreted as proposed last. This word, however, may be read as भद्राकारकियस = भद्राकारक्रियस्य, "one whose look and deeds are commendable". In this inscription no difference is perceptible between the letters ṭ and ṭh.

Ll. 3, 4. Some vowel-marks, which undoubtedly are required, are wanting. I have not attempted to reduce the proper names to their corresponding Sanskrit forms.

Sanskrit.

१ राजामात्यस्य रहलीयस्य पलिसीलणकस्य दुहिता महाहकस्या

२ तटपालकीयराजामात्यस्यागियतणकस्य भद्राकारकि-

३ यस्य भार्यया कपणणकमात्रा चैत्यगृहं पर्वते

४ त्रिरश्मौ निष्ठापितम् ।

Translation.

This Caitya-temple was etablished on the mountain Triraśmi by the worthy Kuśī, the daughter of Baliśītaṇaka, the king's officer, residing in Rahala, the wife of Agiyataṇaka, the king's officer residing in Tatapalika, whose look and deeds are commendable, and the mother of Kapaṇaṇaka.

Dr. Stevenson treated these as two separate inscriptions. I need not make any remark on his translation of them.

No. 11.

१ सिधं ऊतराहस दतामितियकस योणकस धंमदेवपुतस इंद्राग्निदतस धंमत्मना [नो].

२ इमं लेणं[.] पवततिरण्हुम्हि खानितं अभंतरं च लेणस चेतियघरं पोढियो च मातापि–

३ तरं उदिस इमं[.] लेणं कारितं सवबुधपुजाय चातुदिसस भिखुसंघस नियातितं स–

४ हपुतेन धंमरखितेन

To the Perfect One. This is the cave of the charitable Indrāgnīdatta, the son of Dharmadeva, a Northerner, a Yavanaka, native of Dāttāmitrī, excavated on Mount Triraśmi. The interior of this cave is a shrine for a Caitya, and there are tanks also. This cave was caused to be constructed with a view to [the spiritual good of] mother and father, and is dedicated to the mendicant priesthood of the four quarters, for the worship of all Buddhas, by Dharmarakṣita and his son.

Notes.

ऊतराह = औत्तराह "belonging to or inhabitant of the North".[1]

दात्तामित्री was the name of a town in Sauvīra in the vicinity of Sind. In the Siddhāntakaumudī this is given as an instance of a Sauvīra town under Pāṇini IV. 3. 76. Dr. Stevenson's translation of this contains several mistakes. He makes the father of the donor "prince regnant under Datamitraka."

1. Vārtika on Pāṇini, IV. 2. 104.

This Inscription shows how wide the fame of our Triraśmi was spread. It also points to the settlement of the Greeks near Sind and to their adoption of Buddhism. दत्तामित्री may be Demetria.

No. 12.

१ सेठिदकपुतस नेगमस रामणकस

२ छकलेपकियस लेणं देयधंम चातुदि-

३ सस भिखुसंघस नियातितं दत[ता] च[ना]-

४ नेन अखयनिवि कहापनसतं [.] १००

५ संघस हथे एतो वसवास वसतस चिवरि-

६ कं दातवं वारसकं

This cave is the benefaction of Rāmaṇaka, a merchant, native of Chākalapaka. It is dedicated to the mendicant priesthood of the four quarters. He has also given a permanent capital of a hundred Kārṣāpaṇas into the hands of the towns-people. From that a garment should be given in the rainy season to the ascetic living here during the rains.

नेगम is very likely नैगम "a merchant".

संघ in the fifth line may mean "the congregation of the mendicant priests". For the rest see notes to Inscription No. 18.

Dr. Stevenson's translation differs a good deal from this.

No. 13.

१ सिधं सिवमितलेखकपुतस

२ रामणकस लेणं देयधंम

To the Perfect One. [This] cave is the benefaction of Rāmaṇaka, the son of Śivamitra, the writer.

No. 21.

१ खातिक उपासकियस मुगुदासस सपरिवारस लेणं [.] देयधम एतस लेणस बोधिगुत-

२ उपासकस पुतेन धमनंदि [.] नादतं [.] खेतं [.] अपरिलीय कण्हहिनिय एतो च खेततो चिवरिकं [.] पवइत...

This cave is the benefaction of the worshipper Mugudāsa, a Khātika (a butcher) (1) and his family. Dharmanandi, the son of the worshipper Bodhigupta, has given a field in the Western (2) Kaṇhahini for this cave. From this field a garment [to] an ascetic.

(1) खातिक may have been the name of a tribe. It may also correspond to कौटिक "a butcher". The vernacular word for a butcher, खाटिक or खाटकी, is very near to this.

(2) अपरिलीय—इल्ल is a termination applied to nouns in the sense of " belonging to," " existing in ". डिल्लडुल्लौ भवे। भवेर्थे नाम्नः परौ इल्ल उल्ल इत्येतौ डितौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः। ....पुरिल्लं .... उवरिल्लं— Hemacandra. The same termination in the form of इल exists in Marāṭhī. अपरिल therefore seems to mean " Western ". कण्हहिनी must have been the name of something.

No. 22.

१ दासकस मुगुदसस सपरिवारस लेणं देयधमं.

This cave is the benefaction of Mugudāsa, a fisherman, and his family.

No. 24.

१ सिधं वाणिजकस [प?]तिस नेगमस लेणं [.]

२ देयधम कुटुंबिनिय धमनंदासिरिय उवरको दुहुतु-

३ य धमपुरिसदताय उवरको एणं [.] लेणं चतुगत-

४ सिनुतं [.] भिखुसंघस चातुदिसस नियाचितं

To the Perfect One. [This] cave is the benefaction of the merchant Varagahapati, [one] apartment, of his wife the worthy Nandaśrī, [another] apartment, of his daughter the worthy Puruṣadattā. The cave thus composed of four parts is dedicated to the mendicant priesthood of the four quarters.

Line 2. चस may perhaps be traced to शस्या, or if read as वस, to वास.

Line 3. चतुगतनियत. गत probably from गर्त "a hollow", "a cave".

REMARKS.

As I have observed before, the cave numbered 26 by Mr. West was constructed and assigned to Buddhist mendicants of the Bhadrāyanīya school by Gautamī, who is distinctly mentioned as the mother of the king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, whose exploits are described in the inscription. Gautamīputra therefore was so called because he was the son of Gautamī, while his own proper name was Śātakarṇi. Puḍumāyi is called Vāsiṭhīputa or Vasiṣṭhīputra for the same reason. Vāsiṣṭhi, as I have pointed out, granted the field conveyed in the second charter in Inscription No. 25. She is there spoken of as the Queen of Gautamīputra, if we accept the interpretation given in the note; and even if we follow that adopted in the text, and understand them as issuing orders conjointly, there could be no reason why their names should be so coupled together unless that relation existed between them. Puḍumāyi therefore was the son of Gautamīputra, and not his father, as the late Dr. Bhau Daji thought.[1]

Gautamī is described as the mother of a king and grandmother of a king, while Vāsiṣṭhī is mentioned simply as the mother of a king. Gautamī therefore appears to be the

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1. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume VIII, p. 237.

more elderly of the two, which she could not be if her son were the son of Puḍumāyi, whose mother was Vāsiṣṭhī.

No. 26 is dated in the year 19 of Puḍumāyi, when Gautamī, who is spoken of as dedicating the cave in the present tense, must have been alive. Her son Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi issued the charter No. 25 (first part) the next year, and is represented in No. 26 and No. 26A as having granted a village in the same year for the support of the inmates of the cave-monastary of his mother, though his name does not expressly occur. He must, therefore, have been alive when the cave was dedicated. As noticed above, Gautamī is spoken of as the mother of the Great King and the grandmother of the Great King. There is no object in such a statement unless the son and grandson were kings at the time when the statement was made. How could Puḍumāyi then come to be king during Gautamīputra's life-time ? Instances are not wanting in Indian history of sovereigns appointing their sons as governors or kings of distant provinces. Aśoka was king of Kashmere during the life-time of his father, and Agnimitra, of Vidiśā, while Puṣpamitra reigned at Pāṭaliputra. In the same manner, Puḍumāyi seems to have ruled over this side of the country, since the inscriptions containing dates at Nasik and Karla are dated from the commencement of his reign, while his father Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi reigned at his own capital. Gautamīputra Śri Yajña Śātakarṇi was one of their successors, whose name occurs in these inscriptions. The elder Gautamīputra is mentioned in No. 26 as having "established the glory of the Śātavāhana race"; whence it appears that the dynasty called Andhrabhṛtya in the Purāṇas was known by the name of Śātavāhana.

Gautamīputra is spoken of in Nos. 25 and 26A as "the Lord of Dhanakaṭa or Dhanakaṭaka". Huien Thsang mentions a country of the name of Tonakiatsekia, which name is properly considered as the Chinese representative of Dhanakaṭaka. This General Cunningham identifies with the ancient Dharaṇikoṭ

situated on the river Kṛṣṇā, in the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency. From the bearings given by the Chinese traveller, it does appear that Dhanakaṭaka is to be looked for somewhere in that part of the country. That Gautamīputra's Dhanakaṭaka was the same as or situated near Dharṇikoṭ is confirmed by the fact that coins of the Śātavāhana dynasty are found in that district. These being leaden coins, the place where they are found may very reasonably be regarded as that of their original circulation. Some of these are figured by Sir Walter Elliot in Plate XI attached to his article in the Madras Literary Journal, Vol. iii, New series. Of these, one (No. 96) has for its legend 'Sata-kaṇisa raa..o', another (No. 101) has 'Gotamiputasa', and a third (No. 105) 'Ranno Gotamiputasa sariyanna-satakaṇisa'.[1] The legend on a fourth (No. 100) may be read Puṭumavisa, though I am somewhat doubtful. The Purāṇic name of the dynasty also indicates that its original seat, or the province over which its kings immediately ruled, must have been somewhere in the Āndhra or Tailanga country. At first, the princes of the family must have been subject to the paramount sovereigns of Pāṭaliputra, and were hence called bhṛtyas or servants of those sovereigns; and afterwards they raised themselves to supreme power.

The three princes named above are not the only ones of this dynasty that are named in the inscriptions. There is another of ths name of Kṛṣṇarāja, spoken of in No. 6 as belonging to the race of Śātavāhana. The characters in this inscription are far older than those in Nos. 25 and 26. The Va, consisting of a circle with a vertical stroke above, is very mnch unlike the isosceles triangle of these latter, and this letter and the Da, made up of a small rectangle with the left hand side wanting

1 General Cunningham reads this as Rajuya Gotamiputa Satakanisa, but I observe the letters Sari after Gotamiputasa distinctly, and others farther on which look like Yamna. He reads the legend on No. 100 as Pudumāvisa, and does not give that on No. 101, but I have little doubt it is Gotamiputasa. (See Anc. Geogr. of India, p. 541.).

and with two vertical strokes upwards and downwards, as well as the general style, look more like those of Aśoka inscriptions than those of these later ones do. This in itself shows that a considerable interval of time must have elapsed between Kṛṣṇarāja and Gautamīputra. And this is confirmed by the Purāṇas, which, though there is not so much agreement amongst them as might be desirable, in the case of this dynasty, place about nineteen kings between Kṛṣṇarāja, who stands second in the list, and Gautamīputra.[1] There are two other circumstances that deserve remark. In the time of Kṛṣṇarāja, the capital of the province seems to have been Nasik (Nāsika), for his officer or general resided, there, as we gather from No. 6, while in Gautamīputra's time it was Govardhana. There is still a village near Nasik of the name of Govardhana, as I have observed before. The other circumstance is that while out of the five kings, beginning with Gautamīputra, the names of three occur in the cave inscriptions on this side of India, not one out of the nineteen successors of Kṛṣṇaraja is mentioned. This would tend to show that the Śātavāhanas possessed these provinces in the time of Kṛṣṇarāja, but that some time after him they were deprived of them by another race of kings, who must have held them till Gautamīputra regained them and re-established the power of his dynasty. And in No. 26 he is mentioned as having exterminated the race of Khagārāta and "established the glory" of his race. The dynasty of Khagārāta therefore must have ruled over these provinces during the interval. But what other indications have we of the existence of this dynasty? In the first place we have the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta, which mention a king of the name of Kṣaharāta Nahapāna, who is also called Kṣatrapa or Satrap. Kṣaharāta looks very much like Khagārāta and the characters in these inscriptions occupy a middling position between those of No. 6 and No. 26. Kṣaharāta Nahapāna therefore may well have been the founder of the dynasty which displaced the Śātavahanas

1 See Wilson's Viṣṇupurāṇa, Chapter XXIV, Book IV.

some time after Kṛṣṇarāja. And coins of a race of kings calling themselves kings and Kṣatrapas or Satraps have been found in Gujarat and elsewhere, and amongst them one of Nahapāna himself. There are two inscriptions also in Gujarat, which mention some of these kings. Very likely therefore it was this dynasty that Gautamīputra displaced.

A passing examination of the coins of the Śātavāhana dynasty mentioned above points to the same conclusion. If we look at the figures of the coins bearing the devices of a horse, four wheels, and a pyramid composed of arcs of circles with a wavy line below and a crescent on the top, we shall find that these are alternative emblems. Some of the coins have the first and the second, others the first and the third, and the rest the second and the third. The first two occur on No. 96 and No. 92, the former of which bears the legend Satakaṇisa Ranno. This was the name of one of the earlier kings of the dynasty. Of the coins which bear the third emblem, those which have a legend at all contain the names of Gautamīputra and his successor. Now this third device is universally seen on the reverse of Sāh coins; it does not occur on a Śātavāhana coin of a king earlier than Gautamīputra, while it does occur on his and on those of his successors. This would show that the device was borrowed from the Sāhs, and was perhaps used by the Śātavāhanas to indicate their conquest of them. And since it occurs first on Gautamīputra's coin, it must have been he who overthrew them. An examination of more coins of this dynasty, if available, would throw further light on this subject. But so far as my present information goes, the fact tends to confirm what we have gathered from other sources, viz. that Gautamīputra put an end to the Sāh dynasty.

These inferences would be rendered highly probable, or almost certain, if what is known or believed with regard to the dates of these kings were made to harmonise with the similar information we have with regard to the dates of Kṛṣṇarāja and

Gautamiputra. The coins of the Satrap or Sāh dynasty bear dates; but it is not known to what era they are to be referred. For the dates of the Śātavāhana kings the only authorities are the Purāṇas. Though there is no very satisfactory agreement amongst them as to the names and number of the individuals composing the dynasty, the period of its total duration, given by all, nearly corresponds. Starting from the date of Candragupta Maurya, which is generally believed to be 315 B. C., and deducting 294, the number[1] of years for which the intervening dynasties reigned, we have 21 B. C. as the date of the foundation of the Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty; and going on further in the same way, we have 2 A. D. for Kṛṣṇarāja's accession; and 319 A. D. for that of Gautamiputra. Now if we take Nahapāna to be the founder of the Śaka era, and refer all the Sāh dates to that era, the information got from the caves and the inferences based on it are perfectly consistent with these dates. Nahapāna's career of conquest must have ended in A. D. 78, when the era began; and this agrees with what we have stated above that the Śātavāhanas were deprived of the province of Nasik some time after Kṛṣṇarāja. In the same manner, if the statement that Gautamiputra exterminated the race of Khagārāta is true, the last of the Sāh dates must come up near enough to 340 A. D., that being the date of Gautamiputra's death, or of the end of his reign. This last date, if the era is Śaka, is, according to Mr. Fergusson,[2] 376 A. D., in which case it would not agree with the other, but there is a mistake here. Mr. Justice Newton, whom he follows, assigns 235 A. D.[3] to Svāmi Rudra Sāh, the 25th in his list, on the supposition that the era is Vikrama's, whence it appears that he reads the figure on the coin of that monarch as 291. But if we turn to the copies of the figures given by him at page 28, Vol. VII. Journ., BBRAS. we shall

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1 Wilson, Viṣṇupurāṇa, Chapter XXIV, book IV.

2 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. IV.

3 Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. IX., p. 18.

find that there must be some mistake as to the right-hand stroke on the mark for a hundred in the last of the three dates given under Svāmī Rudra Sāh. For the firss of these is 224, the middle figure being the mark for 20, since the circle has one diameter[1]; and the second 192, the mark for a hundred having no side stroke. It is impossible then that the king, whose date is 192, should be reigning in 291. It is extremely probable that this king, No. 18 in Mr. Newton's first list (Journ. BBRAS. Vol. VII.) or No. 25 in his second (Vol. IX.), whose date appears thus to have been misread, or improperly engraved, is the same person as No. 12 in the former or No. 19 in the latter. For the name of the individual and of the father is the same in both cases. There is only the prefix Svāmī, "Lord," in the former, which make no difference, and the date 192 in the one case and 197 in the other. The final date of the Sāhs therefore is that of No. 17 (p. 28, Vol. VII. BBRAS), which is 250, for the figure resembling the letter स sa stands really for 50, as I have shown in my paper[2] on the Valabhī dates.

This date in the era of the Śaka Kings is 328. About that time then, i. e. about nine years after his accession, the Śahs must have been conquered by Gautamīputra. If, on the contrary, we should take the era to be Vikrama's, Nahapāna's date would be about 60 B. C., i. e. he reigned 62 years before Kṛṣṇarāja, which, it will be seen, does not agree with the evidence of the caves, the Sātavāhana dynasty having been in possession of Nasik in A. D. 2. In the same manner, the final date, which, according to Mr. Newton and Mr. Fergusson, is 235 A. D. on the hypothesis that the era is Vikrama's, but which really should be 196 A. D. in conformity with my reading of the dates, is so remote from Gautamīputra's 319 A. D., that he can in no sense be said to have exterminated the " race of Khagārāta. " The

1 See the numerals in the Nasik Cave Inscriptions and my paper in Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. X, p. 67.

2 Ibid, p. 72.

Vikrama era will therefore not do. The objection brought by Mr. Fergusson against the Śaka is that if the dates were referred to it, the Sāhs would overlap the Guptas by a considerable period. But this period has now been reduced to about ten years, the Guptas being supposed to have come into power in 319 A. D. And a difference of 10 years in the uncertain condition of our chronology is almost nothing. Besides, there is nothing to show that the Guptas obtained possession of the countries over which the Sāhs ruled in 319, or immediately after. Thus the date 319-340 A. D. for Gautamīputra, and the Śaka era for the Sāh dates, alone appear to be consistent with what we find in the cave inscriptions about that monarch and the Śātavahana dynasty. The dates in Uṣavadūta's inscriptions, therefore, viz. 42, 41 and 40, would be 120, 119 and 118 A. D. respectively.

The other inscriptions show that in the early centuries of the Christian era Buddhism was flourishing in this part of India. Mendicant priests from all quarters assembled at Triraśmi during the rains, and held what is called their vassa; and laymen made presents to them, especially of garments, during the robing month. For this purpose it was usual for persons who possessed the means, to deposit sums of money out of the interest of which the garments were given. The followers of Buddhism appear to have belonged principally to the artisan and labouring classes. Brahmanism was not in a condition of decline. Uṣavadāta made as many presents to Brahmans as to the Buddhists; and in these Buddhistic cave inscriptions they are spoken of with reverence. Gautamīputra also takes pride in calling himself the protector of Brahmans, and credit is given to him for averting the confusion of castes, i. e. destroying the effects of foreign inroads on Brahmanism and the system of castes and re-establishing them.

Inscription No. 15 is dated in the ninth year of a king named Vīrasena, who is called an Abhīra or cowherd. The Purāṇas place a dynasty of that name after the Āndhrabhṛtyas,

and it was one of the many that ruled over the country, contemporaneously it would appear. They must have come into power after 416 A. D., and, according to the Vāyu-Purāṇa, ruled for 67 years. The Abhiras do not seem to have been very powerful kings, and possessed only this part of the country. The traditions about a Gaulirājya current in the Nasik and Khandesha districts not unlikely refer to them.

THE RĀMĀNUJĪYA AND THE BHĀGAVATA OR PAÑCARĀTRA SYSTEMS

[From the Berichte des VII. Internationalen Orientalisten Congresses held at Vienna in 1886, Wien 1889.]

A work entitled Arthapañcaka that has recently fallen under my observation gives a summary of the doctrines of the school of Rāmānuja. The whole subject is treated of under five heads viz. (I) jīva, i. e., animal spirit or dependent spirit ; (II) īśvara, i. e., God ; (III) upāya, i. e., the way to God ; (IV) phala or puruṣārtha, i. e., the end of life ; and (V) virodhinaḥ, i. e., obstructions to the attainment of God.

I. — Jīvas are of five kinds, viz. (1) nitya, i. e., those who never entered on saṁsāra or the succession of lives and deaths at all, such as Garuḍa, Viṣvaksena, and others ; (2) mukta, i. e., those, who have shaken off the fetters of life and whose sole purpose and joy is attendance (Kaiṁkarya) on God ; (3) Kevala, i. e., those, whose hearts being purified, are fixed on the highest truth and who are thus free from the succession of births and deaths ; (4) mumukṣu, i. e., those, who having experienced the misery of life, are averse to its enjoyments and have fixed their desire only on the highest end, viz., the attainment of the condition of an attendant on God ; and (5) baddha, i. e., those who devoting themselves to life, whether of a God, man, or brute, that their previous merits or demerits (karman) have assigned to them, seek only the enjoyments of such a life and are averse to the joys of Brahman.

II. The manifestations of Īśvara or God are five ; viz.,

(1) Para, i. e., he who lives in Vaikuṇṭha and whose presence is enjoyed by the Nitya and Mukta spirits who dwell near him, who is unbeginning and endless, who wears celestial ornaments, celestial garments, and celestial weapons, who possesses celestial beauty and an endless number of holy attributes, and who is accompanied by Śrī, Bhū, and Līlā ;

(2) Vyūha, i. e., the forms of Saṁkarṣaṇa, Praduymna, and Aniruddha, assumed for the creation, protection, and dissolution of the world ;

(3) Vibhava, i. e., incarnations such as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa for the establishment of Truth, the protection of the good and the destruction of the wicked ;

(4) Antaryāmin, who has two forms in one of which he dwells in everything and rules over all, is bodiless, all-pervading, and the store of all good attributes and is called Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, etc., and in the other he possesses a body bearing celestial weapons such as a counch-shell and a discus, and celestial ornaments, dwells in the heart of man, is the store of all good attributes, and is known by the names of Hṛṣīkeśa, Puruṣottama, Vāsudeva, etc. ;

(5) Arcā, i. e., idols of stone, metal, etc., in which he dwells and allows himself to be worshipped by his devotees. In the Yatīndramatadīpikā, to be noticed below, and in other places, the Vyūhas are given as four, Vāsudeva possessed of the six great attributes being the first, Saṁarṣaṇa, possessed of two, viz. Jñāna and Bala, being the second, Pradyumna having Aiśvarya and Vīrya, the third, and Aniruddha possessed of Śakti and Tejas, the fourth. The first Vyūha is assumed in order that it may serve as an object of devotion, and the other three for creation etc. of the world. In the present work, the Vāsudeva Vyūha is put down as the second form of the Antaryāmin.

III. The Upāyas or ways to God are five, viz. (1) Karmayoga, (2) Jñānayoga, (3) Bhaktiyoga, (4) Prapattiyoga, and (5) Ācāryābhimānayoga. Under the first comes the whole Vedic sacrificial ritual and the Smārta or domestic ceremonies along with the fasts and observances by going through which the person is purified. Then by means of Yama, Niyama, etc., mentioned in the Yogaśāstra, one should concentrate one's mind upon oneself. This concentration leads to Jñānayoga which consists in fixing the mind on Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva, described

in the Vāsudeva Vyūha, as the person on whom one's own self on which the mental powers have already been concentrated depends. Thus the devotee arrives at God through himself. The jñānayoga leads to Bhaktiyoga, which consists in continuously seeing nothing but God. Prapatti is resorted to by those who cannot avail themselves of or are not equal to the first three methods. It consists in throwing one's self entirely on the mercy of God. There are many details given which need not be reproduced here. The last method, Ācāryābhimānayoga, is for one who is unable to follow any of the others, and consists in surrendering oneself to an Ācārya or preceptor and being guided by him in everything. The preceptor goes through all that is necessary to effect his pupil's deliverance, as a mother takes medicine herself to cure an infant.

IV. The Puruṣarthas are five, viz., (1) Dharma, (2) Artha, (3) Kāma, (4) Kaivalya, and (5) Mokṣa. The first three do not differ from those ordinarily called by those names, and the last two are the conditions attained by the Kevala and Mukta spirit (I. 3 and 2 above).

V. The Virodhins are five, viz.,

(1) Svasvarūpavirodhin, i. e., that which prevents one's own real or spiritual nature from being seen, such as the belief that the body is the soul ;

(2) Parasvarūpavirodhin or that which prevents one's approach to the true God, such as devotion to another or false deity or belief in God's incarnation being but a human being etc.;

(3) Upāyavirodhin or that which prevents the true ways from being resorted to, as the belief in ways other than those mentioned above being more efficacious or in the latter being inadequate ;

(4) Puruṣārthavirodhin, or attachment to other than the true or highest object of life·;

(5) Prāptivirodhin, i. e., the being connected with a body that one's own Karman has entailed or with other spirits who are so embodied.

At the end of another work, viz. the Yatīndramatadīpikā, the author gives a variety of views entertained by different classes of writers belonging to this school. The Sūris admit only one entity (Tattva); the Ṛṣis divide it into two, Ātman and Anātman ; and the Ācāryas professing to follow the Śruti, propound three Tattvas or entities, viz., (1) Bhogya or what is to be enjoyed or suffered ; (2) Bhoktṛ, the enjoyer or sufferer ; (3) Niyantṛ or the ruler and controller. Some Ācāryas teach the system under the four heads of (1) Heya, or what is to be shunned, (2) the means of keeping it off, (3) Upādeya or what is to be sought and secured, and (4) its means. Other teachers (Deśikas) divide the subject into five parts, viz., (1) what is to be attained or got at (Prāpya), (2) he who attains it (Prāptṛ), (3) the means of attainment (Upāya), (4) the fruits or objects of life (Phala), and (5) obstructions or impediments. These are the five topics or the Arthapañcaka described above. Some teachers add one more topic which is called Saṁbandha (relation), and thus expound six. There is no real difference according to our author between these several views, since the variety is due to the adoption of a different principle of division by each teacher. The true substance of the Vedānta or Upaniṣads is that there is only one Brahman with the animal spirits and the dead world as its attributes (Cidacidviśiṣṭādvaitam).

The doctrines of Rāmānuja's school here given are the same as the doctrines of an older school, that of the Pāñcarātras or Bhāgavatas, reduced to a systematic form. In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mokṣadharmaparvan which forms part of the twelfth or the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata, there occurs a text in which the Sāṁkhyayoga, Pāñcarātra, Vedas or Āraṇyakas, and Paśupata are mentioned as five distinct systems of religious truth.[1]

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1 Chapter 349, Bombay Edition.

The Vedas or Āraṇyakas here spoken of are the system afterwards known by the names of Aupaniṣada and Vedānta. The doctrines of the Pāñcarātra system are explained in Chapter 339 of the same book. Vāsudeva is the supreme, unborn, eternal and all-pervading soul, the cause of all. From him sprang Saṁkarṣaṇa, or the soul that animates all bodies, regarded as one, from him Pradyumna, the sum total of all intelligence (Manas), and from him, Aniruddha who represents Ahaṁkāra or egoism, and who created all objects. Varāha, Narasiṁha, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and others are represented as subsequent incarnations of the Supreme Vāsudeva. Bhakti or love and faith is the way of reaching God. The Nārāyaṇīya section is older than Rāmānuja, since he refers to it in a passage in his Vedāntabhāṣya, to be noticed below, and older also than Śaṁkarācārya, who quotes in his Bhāṣya under II, 1, 1. from Chapters 334 and 339,[1] and 350 and 351.[2] In his Vedāntasūtrabhāṣya Śaṁkarācārya gives under II. 2, 42 these same doctrines as maintained by the Bhāgavatas, and refutes them on the ground that if Jīva, or the animating soul, is to be considered as created by Vāsudeva, it must be capable of destruction, and hence there can be no such thing as eternal happiness. Then under Sūtra 44 he gives the same doctrines in a modified form. Saṁkarṣaṇa and others are not the animating soul, intelligence, and egoism, independant of Vāsudeva, but they are different Vyūhas or forms of the same Vāsudeva, regarded as possessing certain attributes, viz. jñāna and aiśvarya, śakti and bala, and vīrya and tejas, respectively. This too is refuted by Śaṁkarācārya. In connection with this modified doctrine, the name Pāñcarātra is used as of those who advocated it.

Rāmānuja in his Vedāntasūtrabhāṣya introduces his comments on these Sūtras by the observation, 'Raising an objection against the authoritativeness or truth of the Pañcarātra dispensation which was revealed by Bhagavat and which shows the way to the highest bliss, from its being a (separate) system like those

1 Page 409, Vol. I (Bibl. Ind. Edn.).

2 Page 413, ibid.

of Kapila and others (which have been refuted), he refutes it.' The objection that is raised is this. The Bhāgavatas maintain that Saṁkarṣaṇa, the animating soul, and others were created ; but the Śrutis lay down that souls are not created. Then under Sūtra 44 which, however, is 41 in his Bhāṣya, Rāmānuja says that this objection is based on a misconception of the doctrine of the Bhāgavatas. The correct doctrine is that Vāsudeva, the supreme soul, assumes these four forms out of love for those who depend upon him, in order that they may resort to him under those forms. In support of this he quotes a text from the Pauṣkarasaṁhitā ; and another from the Sātvatasaṁhitā is quoted to show that the worship of these four forms is really the worship of the supreme Vāsudeva. The supreme Vāsudeva is attained by his devotees when they worship him according to their abilities in his Vibhava and Vyūha manifestations or in his original subtle form. By worshipping the Vibhavas, they reach the Vyūhas and through the Vyūhas they reach the subtle form. The incarnations Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, and others are Vibhavas, the Vyūhas are those mentioned above, and the subtle form is the supreme Brahma(n) called Vāsudeva, possessed only of the six attributes, Jñāna, Āiśvarya etc.

According to Rāmanuja, therefore, the Bhāgavata doctrine, when properly understood, is not opposed to the Śruti and it is therefore not reputed by the author of the Vedāntasūtras but pronounced as correct. It will thus appear that the system was known by two names, Pāñcarātra and Bhāgavata, though Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita speaks of these as two different schools. If they were different, the distinction between them was probably due to one having adopted one form of the doctrine explained above and the other, the other. Under Sūtra 45, Saṁkaracārya accuses the Pāñcarātras of treating the Vedas with contempt, since it is stated in one of their books that Śāṇḍilya, not having found the way to the highest good in the four Vedas, had recourse to this Śāstra. Rāmānuja answers this accusation by

saying that a similar statement occurs in the Bhūmavidyā (Chāndogya Up. VII. I.). Nārada is represented there as saying that he has studied all the Vedas and other branches of learning and still he only knows the Mantras and not the Ātman. This does not involve the contempt of the Vedas, but the object of the statement is simply to extol the Bhūmavidyā or the philosophy of the highest object that is explained further on. Or the sense is that Nārada studied all the Vedas but was not keen enough to comprehend the nature of the Ātman, though set forth in those works. Precisely the same interpretation should be laid on this *statement of Śāṇḍilya's not having found the way to the highest* good in the four Vedas, and it should not be construed as involving contempt for the Vedas.

Rāmānuja's system is thus the same as the Pāñcarātra or Bhāgavata. The sacred books of this latter are the Pāñcarātra-Saṁhitās, three of which, the Pauṣkara, Sātvata, and Parama, are quoted by Rāmānuja in the passage referred to above. The following exist in the library of Jasvantrao Gopalrao of Pāṭaṇ:

a Lakṣmī-Saṁhitā, Gr. S. 3,350.
b Jñānāmṛtasāra-Saṁhitā, Gr. S. 1,450.
c Paramāgamacūḍāmaṇi-Saṁhitā, Gr. S. 12,500.
d Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā, Gr. S. 6,350.
e Padma-Saṁhitā, Gr. S. 9, 000.
f Vṛddhabrahma-Saṁhitā, Gr. S. 4,533.

The book printed as Nāradapañcarātra in the Bibliotheca Indica is only one of these that are marked b. A copy of c was purchased by me for the Government of Bombay two years ago. Whatever may be the time when these and other Saṁhitās were written and the religion received a definite shape, the root of the Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra system is to be traced to very remote times. Its distinguishing features are, as we have seen, the worship of Vāsudeva as the supreme Brahma and the doctrine of Bhakti or faith and Love as the way to salvation. It does not trace all our finite thought and feeling to a principle

alien to the soul such as Prakṛti or Māyā, as the Sāṁkhya or Advaita Vedānta does, and look upon freedom from that sort of thought and feeling as Mokṣa or deliverance. It is a system of popular religion and has not such a metaphysical basis as either of those two has. Vāsudeva was recognised as the supreme deity even in the time of Patañjali, for under Pāṇini IV, 3, 98, the author of the Mahābhāṣya states that the Vāsudeva occurring in the Sūtra is not the name of a Kṣatriya, but of Tatrabhagavat, which term is explained by Kaiyata, as signifying a certain [form of the] Supreme Deity. And since Pāṇini himself directs us in that Sūtra to append the termination aka to Vāsudeva in the sense of 'one whose Bhakti or object of devotion is Vāsudeva' the worship of Vāsudeva is older than that grammarian also. In forming some conception of the origin of this cultus, other circumstances than those hitherto mentioned must be taken into consideration. In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata, the Pāñcarātra is represented as an independent religion professed by the Sātvatas and is also called the Sātvata religion[1] ; and Vasu Uparicara, who was follower of that religion, is spoken of as worshipping the Supreme God according to the Sātvata manner (vidhi) which was revealed in the beginning by the Sun.[2] The religion is stated to be the same as that taught to Arjuna by Bhagavat himself when the armies of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kurus were drawn up in battle-array and Arjuna's heart misgave him.[3] Thus the Bhagavadgītā belongs to the literature of Vāsudeva worship. In the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, the Sātvatas are represented as calling the highest Brahma (n), Bhagavat and Vāsudeva, and as worshipping and adoring Kṛṣṇa in a peculiar way.[4] Rāmānuja too refers, as we have seen, to the Sātvatasaṁhitā. Satvat was the name of a descendent of Yadu as we learn from the Purāṇic genealogies, and his race was the race or clan of the Sātvatas. The Sātvatas are mentioned in the

1 Chapter 348, verses 34, 55, 84,

2 Chapter 335, verses 19, 24.

3 Chapter 348, verses 8 ; chapter 346. verses 11.

4 Bhāgavata Purāṇa, IX. 9. 49 ; XI. 21. 1.

Bhāgavata along with the Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis, which were two of the Yādava tribes.[1] Vāsudeva himself was a prince of that race, being called Sātvatapuṁgava.[2] About the time when Pāṇini flourished or when the Upaniṣads were written, and even later when Buddhism and Jainism arose, the energies of the Indian mind were directed to religious speculation, and we find a variety of systems coming into vogue. In this intellectual race, the Kṣattriyas took a much more active part than the Brahmans. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, a prince of the name of Pravāhaṇa, the son of Jaibala[3] and Aśvapati, King of the Kekaya country,[4] appear as teachers of religious truth and Brahmans as learners; and in the former passage it is even stated that the Kṣatriyas were the original possessors of that knowledge. Similarly, in the Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇopaniṣad, we find Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī, explaining the true Brahma(n) to Bālāki the Gārgya, who had only pretended to teach it to the king, but did not know it really. The same story is told in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. Buddha was a Kṣattriya and belonged to the Śākya clan; so was Mahāvīra, who belonged to the race of the Jñātṛkas. Since then the Kṣatriyas were so active at the time in propounding religious doctrines and founding sects and schools, we may very well suppose that a Kṣattriya of the name of Vāsudeva, belonging to the Yādava, Vṛṣṇi, or Sātvata race, founded a theistic system as Siddhārtha of the Śākya race and Mahāvīra of the Jñatṛka race founded atheistic systems. And just as Buddha under the title of 'Bhagavat' is introduced as the teacher in Buddhistic works, so is Vāsudeva as Bhagavat introduced in the Bhagavadgītā and some other parts of the Mahābhārata. That must have been one of his most prominent names, since his followers were in later times called Bhāgavatas. Or perhaps, it is possible that Vāsudeva was a famous prince of the Sātvata race and on his death was deified

1 Bhāgavata Purāṇa, I. 14, 25 : III, 1, 22.

2 Ibid, XI. 27, 1 ; I. 2. 32.

3 V. 3.

4 V. 11,

and worshipped by his clan ; and a body of doctrines grew up in connection with that worship, and the religion spread from that clan to other classes of the Indian people. In the course of time other elements got mixed with it. We have seen that Rāmānuja considers Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and others to be only Vibhavas or incarnations of Vāsudeva and they are so represented in the Nārāyaṇīya also. This means that the legends and worship of those deified heroes became identified with Vāsudeva ; and the traditions about the Vedic Viṣṇu and the Purāṇic Nārāyaṇa, who drew out the submerged earth were also in subsequent times referred to him, and thus the various forms of modern Vaiṣṇavism arose.

It is therefore clear that the Pāñcarātra was a distinct system independent of the Vedas and Upaniṣads. But during the early centuries of the Christian era, while the country was under the domination of foreigners of the Śaka, Palhava, and Yavana races, the Buddhists had grown powerful. With the restoration of the native dynasties in the fourth century, the influence of Brahmans increased, and they then began a fierce conflict with all heretics. These were cried down as scoffers, atheists, nihilists (Vaināśikas), etc. The great Mīmāṁsakas— Śabarasvāmin, Maṇḍanamiśra, Kumārila, and others, flourished during this period of conflict. They ran down even the Aupaniṣadas or the holders of the Jñāna-mārga, i. e., the religion of the Upaniṣads, as against the Karma-mārga or the sacrificial religion. The Bauddhas and Jainas who had no regard for the Vedas whatever met them on independent or rationalistic grounds. But the Aupaniṣadas fought them on the field of the Vedic orthodoxy and succeeded in maintaining their position. There were unquestionably in ancient times several Aupaniṣada systems ; but it was the doctrine of the unreality of the world and the unity of spirit with which the name of Śaṁkarācārya is connected and which has been characterized by the Mādhvas as but Buddhistic nihilism in disguise, that succeeded on the present occasion. And that doctrine was by others considered as subversive of religion and certainty.

Śaṁkarācārya and his followers did not treat tenderly the religious systems that had become popular, such as that of the Bhāgavatas or Pāñcarātras and ot the Pāśupatas. It was, therefore, Rāmānuja's endeavour to put down the pernicious doctrine of Māyā or unreality, and seek a Vedantic and philosophic basis for the religion of Bhakti or Love and Faith that had existed from times immemorial; and thus the Pāñcarātra system, which was independent of the Vedas before, became in his hands a system of the Vedānta or an Aupaniṣada system.

A BUDDHIST JĀTAKA STORY IN PAṆJALI.[1]

[From the Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1892, Volume, pp. 421 ff].

The Ādiccupaṭṭhānajātaka, No. 175 of Fausböll's edition (vol. II, p. 72), is to the following effect :-In former times, while Brahmadatta was reigning at Benares, the Bodhisatto was born in the family of a Brāhmaṇa, and after finishing his education at Takkhasilā, became an Isi hermit(Ṛṣi), and lived on the slopes of the Himālaya togethei with a crowd of followers or disciples. After having spent a long time there, he came down from the heights, and lived together with his followers in a hut made of leaves in the confines of a village in the vicinity. When the hermits went into the village for alms, a monkey used to get into the hut of leaves, spill the water, break the pots, and clear his bowels in the fire-sanctuary. After the hermits had lived for a year in the village, they made up their minds to return to the slopes of the Himālaya, as the heights had at that time become charming by means of flowers and fruits ; and begged leave of the villagers. The villagers expressed their intention to give a feast to the hermits at their hut before their departure and the next day brought a great many nice eatables to the hermitage. The monkey, thinking of inducing the villagers to feed him also, assumed the appearance of one practising religious austerities and of a pious being, and stood adoring the sun. The villagers seeing him in that attitude, and observing that those who lived in the vicinity of good men became good themselves, said —

सब्बेसु किर भूतेसु सन्ति सीलसमाहिता ।
पस्स साखामिगं जम्मं आदिच्चमुपतिट्ठति ॥ इति ।

" Among beings of all species, there are (some) who are ennobled by their virtue ; see, a vile monkey adores the son. " The

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1 This and the following two articles appear as "Miscellaneous Notes " in the Transactions of the Congress [N. B. U.].

Bodhisatto, finding that the men were praising the monkey in this manner, and observing that they were pleased with an undeserving creature, said –

नास्स सीलं विजानाथ अनञ्ञाय पसंसथ ।
अग्गिहुत्तञ्च ऊहंति तेन भिन्ना कमण्डलू ॥ ति ।

" You do not know his conduct ; you praise him without knowing ; he cleared his bowels in the fire-sanctuary, and broke pots."

Thereupon, knowing the hypocrisy of the monkey, they struck him with sticks and fed the hermits.

Under Pāṇini I. 3. 25, Patañjali gives as an instance of the first Vārttika आदित्यमुपतिष्ठते, " he adores the sun " and quotes the following verses :–

बहूनामप्यचित्तानामेको भवति चित्तवान् ।
पश्य वानरसैन्येऽस्मिन्यदर्कमुपतिष्ठते ॥
मैव मंस्थाः सचित्तोऽयमेषोऽपि हि यथा वयम् ।
एतदप्यस्य कापेयं यदर्कमुपतिष्ठति ॥

" Among many unintelligent beings there is (possibly one) who is intelligent, seeing that in this crowd (army) of monkeys, one adores the sun.

" Do not think he is intelligent and is as we are; even this is his monkeyism, that he adores (apes the adoration of the) Sun."

Here the story is not given ; but there can be no question that whatever it may have been, a monkey is seen putting himself into an attitude of adoring the Sun, and in this respect it resembles the Buddhist Jātaka. In both, the two verses are spoken by two different persons. The speaker of the first verse supposes that the attitude the monkey assumes is out of real devotion for the sun, wherein we have another point of resemblance. But in the Mahābhāṣya the adoration is regarded as indicating such an intelligence in a monkey as men possess ; while in the Jātaka story it is attributed to piety. The same word, sthā with upa, is used in both ; but the verse in Patañjali being in Sanskrit, where the distinction between the Atmane-

pada and Parasmaipada is to be carefully observed, the Ātmanepada is used, as real adoration of the sun is meant; in the Pali the distinction between the voices is lost. The impression of the first speaker is corrected in both by the second, wherein we have a fifth point of agreement. But intelligence is denied by the second speaker in the one case, and piety in the other, which difference depends upon the original difference pointed out above. In the Mahābhāṣya story, a crowd of monkeys is seen before him by the first speaker; while in the Jātaka there is only one monkey. In the second verse in Patañjali, the Parasmaipada is used, as reality is denied to the adoration, and it is in consequence no adoration. Whatever, therefore, may have been the story from which these two verses have been extracted in the Mahābhāṣya, the resemblance between it and the Jātaka story is so great as to warrant us in attributing a common origin to them, and regarding them as different versions of the same story, though we have no grounds for holding them as identical.

DATES OF THE VEDĀNTAKALPATARU, VĀCASPATI, UDAYANA AND RĀMĀNANDA.

[From the Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1892, Volume I. pp. 423 ff.]

In noticing the Vedāntakalpataru of Amalānanda, Dr. Hall, in his "Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical systems", says :—"It was written in the days of one Rājā Kṛṣṇa, who had a brother Mahādeva."

A more definite statement was not possible at the time when Dr. Hall wrote. But since that time we have made greater progress in the knowledge of Indian antiquities, and can now with ease determine who this Rājā Kṛṣṇa was who had a brother of the name Mahādeva. The verse occurring in the Kalpataru is as follows :—

कीर्त्या यादववंशमुन्नमयति श्रीजैत्रदेवात्मजे
कृष्णे क्ष्माभृति भूतलं सह महादेवेन संबिभ्रति ।
भोगीन्द्रे परिमुञ्चति क्षितिभरप्रोद्भूतदीर्घश्रमं
वेदान्तोपवनस्य मण्डनकरं प्रस्तौमि कल्पद्रुमम् ॥

"I begin the Kalpadruma (wish-fulfilling tree), calculated to adorn the garden of Vedānta, while the King Kṛṣṇa, the son of Jaitra, is protecting the earth in a manner to exalt the Yādava race by his fame, along with his brother Mahādeva ; and the Lord of the serpents is resting himself after the long-continued exertion consequent upon (bearing) the burden of the earth."

These princes, Kṛṣṇa and Mahādeva, who were sons of Jaitra, and belonged to the Yādava race, were the princes of those names of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri. The introduction to Hemādri's Vedānta-khaṇḍa and the inscriptions speak of them as the sons of Jaitrapāla, and we are told that they succeeded their grand-father Siṅghaṇa. During Kṛṣṇa's lifetime Mahadeva only assisted him in the government, and became sole king himself after Kṛṣṇa's death. Kṛṣṇa reigned from 1247

A. D. to 1260 A. D.[1] The Kalpataru was therefore written in the interval between these two dates, i. e. about the middle of the thirteenth century. Vācaspatimiśra, on whose work, the Bhāmatī, the Kalpataru is a commentary, lived sufficiently long before this date to acquire reputation as an important author.

Another latest limit to Vācaspati's date is Śaka 1174 or 1252 A. D., in which year a commentary on Bhāsarvajña's Nyāyasāra was written by Rāghavabhaṭṭa, who mentions or quotes from Vācaspati and Udayana.[2] Dr. Hall gives the time of Bhoja of Dhārā as the earliest limit; for, Vācaspati, he says, quotes Bhoja.[3] Unfortunately he has not stated where Bhoja is quoted by him; but if it is the passage from Rājavārttika quoted at the end of the Sāṁkhyatattvakaumudī that he means, the Rājavārttika has not yet been discovered, and we do not know for certain who its author is. The statement made by Dr. Hall that it was composed by Bhoja is based simply on the information given by Kāśināthaśāstrī Aṣṭaputre, which is more than questionable.[4]

But if the supposition that the Rājavārttika was written by Bhoja is correct, the earliest limit for Vācaspati's date is the period between 996 A. D. and 1051 A. D. Vācaspati thus flourished between about 1050 and 1250 A. D. But in this period we have also to place Udayana, and assign to him a date later than Vācaspati, for Udayana has commented on the Vārttikatātparyaṭīkā of Vācaspati. Another earliest limit to the date of Udayana is śaka 913 or 991 A. D., in which year Śrīdhara's Kandalī was written. In his commentary on Udayana's Kiraṇāvalī, Vardhamāna, the son of Gaṅgeśa, says in his explanation of one passage that therein Udayana sets forth the view of the Kandalī.

1 See my Early History of the Deccan, p. 86.

2 Dr. Hall's Bibliography, p. 26.

3 Sāṁkhyasāra, Introduction, p. 40, note.

4 Ibid, p. 49, note.

The Kalpataru is mentioned by Rāmānanda in his comment on Śaṁkarācārya's Bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtra I. 4.11.[1] He states that the explanation given by the author of the Prakaṭārtha about the accent in the word Pañcajana has been refuted by the author of Kalpataru. Thus we have the author of the Prakaṭārtha first, then Amalānanda, the author of the Vedāntakalpataru, about 1250 A. D.; and after him Rāmānanda, the author of the Ratnaprabhā, published in the Bibliotheca Indica.

Ed. Bibl. Ind., Volume I, p. 363.

THE LATEST LIMIT OF THE DATE OF THE ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPTION OF THE TEN AVATĀRAS OF VIṢṆU AND OF THE WIDOW MARRIAGE TEXT.

[From the transactions of the Ninth International Congress o Orientalists of 1892, London, Volume I, pp. 425 ff].

A manuscript of a work entitled Dharmaparīkṣā, by Amitagati, a Digambara Jaina and the author of the Subhāṣitaratnasaṁdoha, which was written in Vikramasaṁvat 1050, in the reign of Muñja of Dhārā, has recently fallen into my hands. It was composed in 1070 Vikrama, as we are told in the following verses :—

संवत्सराणां गि(वि ?)गते सहस्रे । ससप्ततौ विक्रमपार्थिवस्य ।
इदं निषे(षि)ध्यान्यमतं समाप्तम् । जिनेन्द्रधर्मामितियुक्तशास्त्रम् ॥

" When a thousand and seventy years of King Vikrama had elapsed, this śāstra, full of the incomparable nature of the religion of the Jinendra, in which other creeds have been condemned, was finished. "

Amitagati makes use of a story to convey his precepts, in the course of which the God Viṣṇu, and the several acts unworthy of him as the Supreme Being which he did while he lived in the world as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, are spoken of. In connection with this I find the following verse :—

मीनः कूर्मः पृथुः प्रोक्तो नारसिंहोऽथ वामनः ।
रामो रामश्च रामश्च बुद्धः कल्की दश स्मृताः ॥

" A fish, a tortoise, a boar, a Man-lion, Vāmana (dwarf), Rāma, Rāma, Rāma, Buddha and Kalkin,—these are known as ten (forms of Viṣṇu). "

There is a marginal note on Pṛthu in which the word is explained as meaning Sūkara or " boar. " The three Rāmas are of course Pārśurāma, Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, and Balarāma

or Kṛṣṇa. The last is spoken of independently in several places as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

In another place, when the divine character of Viṣṇu is called in question, we have—

स मत्स्यः कच्छपः कस्मात्सूकरो नरकेसरी ।
वामनोऽभूत्त्रिधा रामः परः प्राणीव दुःखितः ॥

" Why did he, like an ordinary miserable living being, become a Fish, a Tortoise, a Boar, a Man-lion, Vāmana (dwarf), and Rāma thrice ? "

Here we see that the idea of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu had become quite an ordinary article of belief in 1070 Vikrama or 1014 A. D., and Buddha had been received into the popular Brahmanic pantheon. In the latter verse the two last incarnations have been omitted, probably because the object was to represent the births of Viṣṇu in previous ages of the world ; while the ninth belongs to the present, and the tenth to a future age.

A little farther on, a story is told of a recluse of the name of Maṇḍapakauśika. On one occasion he sat down to dinner along with other recluses. Seeing him sitting in their company, the other recluses rose up, afraid to touch him, as if he were a Cāṇḍāla. Maṇḍapakauśika asked them why they rose up as they should at the sight of a dog. They told him that he had become a recluse immediately after he had been a Brahmacārin, and without going through the intermediate order by marrying a wife and seeing the face of a son. A man without son does not go to heaven ; nor are religious mortifications successful, if gone through by one in that condition. He then went away and asked men of his caste to give him a girl in marriage ; but as he had become an old man, nobody would give his daughter to him. Thereupon he went back to the recluses and told them of this, when they advised him to marry a widow and assume the life of a householder. By doing so, no sin was incurred by either party, as stated in the scriptures of the recluses (tāpasāgame). For they said —

पत्य(त्यौ) प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे प्रनष्टे पतिते मृते ।
पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

" In these five distressful conditions, viz., when the husband has renounced the world, is an eunuch, is not found, has fallen away from caste, or is dead, another husband is allowed to women. "

The text on the subject, occurring in the Smṛtis of Parāśara and Nārada, and also in that of Manu, according to a statement of Mādhava contained in his commentary on Parāśara, though not found there now, is as follows :—

नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे च पतिते पतौ ।
पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

The difference, we see, is little ; the words are merely transposed in the first line, and we have प्रनष्टे for नष्टे. This transposition, however, allows of the proper locative पत्यौ of पति being used, without the violation of the metre. It will thus appear that the text was known in 1014 A. D., and widow marriage was not a thing quite unheard of at that time.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SŪTRAS OF ĀŚVALĀYANA AND SAṀKHĀYANA AND THE ŚĀKALA AND BAṢKALA ŚĀKHĀS OF THE ṚKSAṀHITĀ.

[From the Transaction of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1893, pp. 411 ff].

A Manuscript of a work Anukramaṇikāḍhuṇḍhū was purchased by me for the Government collection about two years ago. It was bought by my agent from a Brahman of Śaṁkhāyana school, living at a village called Brahmapol, about two miles from Jayapur, along with other Vedic works belonging to the school. It consists of the Sarvānukrama in a tabulated form. In each line we have first the number of the hymn, then the first pāda of the first verse, and afterwards follow in order the numbers of the vargas and of the verses of which the hymn is composed, the name of the Ṛṣi, and the deity, and the metre. The next hymn is treated similarly in the next line. When the particulars referring to a hymn cannot be completely given in a single line, we have more than one, i. e., a paragraph. The Sūktas are numbered continuously from 1 to 1017, and the end of the Adhyāya is simply marked with the letters Adhya. The Vālakhilyas come between hymns 668 and 669, i. e., after viii, 48, and are numbered from 1 to 10. The manuscript was transcribed on Sunday the 7th of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, in the Saṁvat year 1796, and is thus a hundred and fifty years old.

This tabulated Anukramaṇī agrees in all respects with the Sarvānukrama of Kātyāyana, as I have found from a comparison of parts here and there with the statements at the top of the hymns in Professor Max Muller's edition and with the original Sarvānukrama. The number of verses in vii, 21 is, however, given as nine, because it would appear, at first sight, the tenth is the same as the last verse of the previous hymn. In other places,

however, where the same verse occurs at the end of two successive hymns, it is not left out of account; so that there is probably a mistake here. The number of hymns, 1017, is the same as that given in the Anuvākānukramaṇi, indexed in the Sarvānukrama, and found in the Vulgate. But our Dhuṇḍhū differs from the last in omitting one of the eleven Vālakhilya hymns, viz., that beginning with *yamṛtvijo* (viii. 58); but agrees with the Sarvānukrama. For this also omits the hymn, and an anonymous commentary on the work, existing in one of my recent collections of manuscripts, agrees with the text, as it contains no reference to it.

The author of the Bhāṣya on the Caraṇavyūha, often noticed by scholars, says that the omission of viii. 58 constitutes the distinction between the Śāṁkhāyana and Aśvalāyana Śākhās. At the same time, he notices the insertion of two of the three verses composing the hymn into X, 88, but only as a khila, and, consequently, not to be counted. The work before me does not notice the insertion, probably just on this account, assigning to the hymn nineteen verses, which it has in the Vulgate. It will thus appear that the statement of the commentator as to the omission of viii. 58 in the Śāṁkhāyana Saṁhitā is confirmed by my manuscript; and the Sarvānukrama, agreeing with both, seems to follow the text used by the school of Śāṁkhāyana, rather than that used by the Āśvalāyana school.

But the statement of the commentator and this conclusion are contested by Prof. Oldenberg, and the grounds are these :— In thp Upākaraṇa ceremony, usually called Śrāvaṇi by us, after the name of the month in which it is performed, oblations are thrown into the fire after the repetition of the first and last verses of each Maṇḍala. In the Sāṁkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra the last verse that is directed to be repeated is "tac chaṁyor āvṛnīmahe," etc., which, therefore, must have been the last verse of the tenth maṇḍala of the Saṁhitā followed by Saṁkhāyana. Similarly in another place in the Sutra, the teacher having taught to the pupil the whole of the Veda ending with Śaṁyor Bārhaspatya, is

spoken of. Śaṁyor Bārhaspatya here means, according to Vinayaka, the commentator on the Sūtra, the second verse, "तच्छंयोरा०" etc. occuring at the end of the last hymn, and not that same verse occurring in the middle. Now, on the evidence of a Kārikā, quoted in a Prayoga or manual of domestic rites, noticed by Professor Weber in his first Berlin catalogue (p. 314), it is concluded that the Bāṣkala Saṁhitā of the Ṛgveda ended with the verse "तच्छंयोरा०" etc., and since Śaṁkhāyana prescribes that verse for the last oblation, that this is the Saṁhitā that Śaṁkhāyana followed, and that his Sūtra was written for those who accepted the Bāṣkala Saṁhitā.

To determine this point, it is necessary to trace the source of the information contained in the Kārikā noticed by the two scholars, and to bring together the statements of subsequent writers based on that source. The Kārikā occurs in the work entitled Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-Kārikā, attributed to Kumārila. Whether this writer is the same as Kumārila the great Mīmāṁsaka is a point which I, at least, do not consider to be settled. There is a copy of it in the Government collection of 1883-84 made by me, it bears the number 509. The collection A. of 1881-82, also made by me, contains two copies of a Bhāṣya on the Kārikās, Nos. 176 and 177. No. 176 is an excellent manuscript and contains the original as well as the commentary. The author of the latter does not give his name; and though the name Nārāyaṇa does occur in one place, still it is written in such a manner that it remains doubtful whether it is meant as the name of the commentator. In the introduction we are told, "First of all, Nārāyaṇa, the author of the Vṛtti, composed his work, as it was difficult for persons of little learning, who had simply a smattering of a part of the sacred lore, to perform the various ceremonies prescribed by Aśvalāyana with the help of the Sūtra alone. Taking the Vṛtti as a basis, and considering the views of Jayanta and others which are in conformity with the Sūtra, the author of the Kārikā composed the Kārikā, setting forth the procedure in order. Still, some people neglecting this

Kārikā, though of use to carry one through the rites, on account of the difficulty arising from its brevity, and regarding a paddhati (manual) alone to be useful in this respect, perform the rites for themselves, and cause others to perform them (in accordance with it). Therefore, on account of the impossibility of removing doubts, by a mere Paddhati as to what is first and what is last, whether a thing exists or does not exist in the whole body of rites, prescribed in the Gṛhya Sūtras, some one, through the favour of the deity, presiding over the ceremonial having sat at the feet of a master, the like of whom is not to be found, of the name of Vuppadevabhaṭṭa, residing in the city of Kalamba, and belonging to the Āśvalāyana school of the Ṛgveda, for receiving instructions in the interpretation of the Kārikā, is now expounding the whole Kārikā, for removing doubts concerning the body of rites that are performed, making use of what was taught to him by his master. "[1]

From this it appears that the Kārikā was written in accordance with Nārāyaṇa's Vṛtti, the views of Jayanta and others being also represented ; and in the work itself the Bhagavadvṛttikṛt and Jayanta are frequently mentioned.[2] Now, as regards the point in question, Naidhruvi-Nārāyaṇa's Vṛtti on Āśv. Gṛ. iii. 5. 9, is : " It is well known to students that this itself (and no

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1 तत्रादावाश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्रमात्रेणैवाल्पव्युत्पत्तिमतामध्ययनैकदेशस्पर्शिनां तदुक्ततत्तत्कर्मनिर्वाहो दुस्तर इति वृत्तिकृन्नारायणो वृत्तिमकरोत् । तामेव वृत्तिं पुरस्कृत्य सूत्रार्थानुकूलाञ्जयन्तादीन्विचार्य कारिकाकारः क्रमेणेतिकर्तव्यताकारिणीं कारिकां चकार । तथाप्यत्र केचन संक्षेपकाठिन्यात्कर्मनिर्वाहकारिणीमपि कारिकां निवार्य पद्धतिमेवात्रोपयोगिनमिवधार्य कर्म कारयन्ति कुर्वन्ति च । अतः कोऽप्यत्र कर्मदेवतानुग्रहेण गृह्योक्तसकलकर्मसु किमादौ किमन्ते किमस्ति किं वा नास्तीत्यादिरूपं संदेहं केवलं पद्धत्या दूरीकर्तुमशक्यत्वात्कारिकार्थपरिज्ञानार्थमृग्वेदान्तःपातिन्यामाश्वलायनशाखायां कलम्बपुरवासिनं लोकोत्तरं वुप्पदेवभट्टाख्यं गुरुमुपास्य तदुक्तिमेव निमित्तीकृत्य क्रियमाणकर्मकलापसंदेहापनुत्तये तावतीमेव कारिकां विवृणोति । —From No. 176 of A. 1881-82.

2 See also Dr. Bühler's review of my Report for 1883-84, Indian Antiquary, Volume XVIII, p. 188a.

other) is the Sūtra and Gṛhya of the Śākala traditinal text and the Bāṣkala text. For the Śākalas 'Samānī va ākūtiḥ' is the verse, because it is the final one of their Saṁhitā ; while for the Bāṣkalas, 'tac chaṁyor āvṛṇīmahe' is the one, being at the end of their Saṁhitā. Construing it thus is proper[1]." The Kārikā based on this Vṛtti is that noticed by Professor Weber in the first Berlin Catalogue, and runs thus :-" The last oblation (āhuti thrown into the fire) of the Śākalas is after the repetition of the Ṛk. 'samānī vaḥ,' and the last oblation of the Bāṣkalas, after (the repetition of) the Ṛk. 'tac chaṁyor."[2] The commentary on this is :-"In the province of Ṛgveda there are five different Śākhas, Āśvalāyanī, Śāṁkhāyanī, the Śākalas, Bāṣkalas and Māṇḍukas. Of these, the last oblation of the Śākalas is by repeating 'samānī vaḥ.' and the last oblation of the Bāṣkalas is by repeating 'tac chaṁyor.[2]' Everything else is the same. This same Āśvalāyana Sūtra is of use for the performance of the rites to the followers of the Āśvalāyana Śākhā, and to the Śākalas and Bāṣkalas.[3]" Jayanta in the Vimalodayamālā thus speaks about the point :-" Since this itself (and no other) is the Sūtra of Śākala and Bāṣkala, and this the Gṛhya of the two Saṁhitās, those who end their Saṁhitā by the verse, 'Samānī va ākūtiḥ' throw an oblation into the fire after repeating this verse and then offer to the Sviṣṭakṛt; while those who read 'tac chaṁyor āvṛṇīmahe' at the end of their text throw an oblation on repeating that verse and then offer to the Sviṣṭakṛt and not on repeating

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1 See p. 168, Bibl. Ind. Edn.

2 शाकलानां समानी व इत्यृचान्त्याहुतिर्भवेत् ।
बाष्कलानां तु तच्छंयोरित्यृचान्त्याहुतिर्भवेत् ॥
—From MSS. No. 509 of 1883–84 and 176 of A. 1881–82.

3 ऋग्वेदे पञ्च शाखाभेदाः । आश्वलायनी सांख्यायनी (शांखायनी) शाकला बाष्कला माण्डूकाश्चेति । तेषां मध्ये शाकलानां समानी व इत्यृचान्त्याहुतिर्भवति । बाष्कलानां तु तच्छंयोरित्यृचान्त्याहुतिर्भवति । इतरत्सर्वं समानम् । आश्वलायनशाखानुसारिणां शाकलबाष्कलानां चेदमेवाश्वलायनसूत्रं कर्मानुष्ठानार्थमुपकरोति ।
From No. 176 of A. 1881–82.

' samānī va ākutiḥ.' This sense is obtained from the word 'eka,' which occurs in both the Sūtras.[1]

It will thus be seen that the source of the information used by Professor Oldenberg is Naidhruvi-Nārāyaṇa's statement in the vṛtti; and though Jayanta's direct connection with Nārāyaṇa's work is not mentioned, still the passage from his work is so greatly like that occurring in the vṛtti, that there is hardly any reasonable doubt that it is based on the vṛtti, or both derived from a common source. If, then, the Bāṣkala Saṁhitā ended with "tac chaṁyor" etc., while the Śākala with "Samānī va Ākūtiḥ", the Śāṁkhāyana Sūtra, which prescribes "tac chaṁyor" etc. as the verse for the last oblation in the Upākaraṇa ceremony, must be a Sūtra of the Bāṣkala Śākhā; and as according to Śaunaka, the Saṁhitā of this school had eight hymns more than that of the Śākalas, and the arrangement of some of the smaller books composing the first Maṇḍala was different, it follows that the statement of the commentator on the Caraṇavyūha that Śāṁkhāyāna Saṁhitā differed from Āśvalāyana's, which is the same as that of the Śākalas, only in excluding viii. 58, cannot be true, and there is no Saṁhitā exactly corresponding to the Sarvānukrama, which also excludes this hymn. At the same time, though my manuscript was in the possession of a Brahman of the Śāṁkhyāyana school, along with the other works decidedly belonging to that school, still it should be considered as not representing the Saṁhitā of that school. But, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that those same writers who give us the information which leads to these conclusions tell us as a fact well known to students of Āśvalāyana's Sūtra, that that was the Sūtra and Gṛhya of Bāṣkalas as well as of the Śākalas. The same fact is stated by Gārgya-Nārāyaṇa in his

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1 यतः शाकलबाष्कलयोरेतदेव सूत्रं द्वयोः संहितयोर्गृह्यं च । तत्र ये समानीव आकूतिरित्यनया संहितायाः पारं गच्छान्ति ते समानी व आकतिरित्यनयैव हुत्वा स्विष्टकृतं जुह्वति । ये तच्छंयोरावृणीमह इति समाम्नायान्त पठन्ति ते तयैव । स्विष्टकृतं जुह्वति न समानी व आकूतिरिति । अयमर्थ उभयोरेककग्रहणात् ।

comment on the first Śrauta Sūtra of Āśvalāyana. The expression 'idam eva' or 'etad eva,' used by them, would show that this same and no other was, according to the commentators, the Sūtra of the Bāṣkalas ; and if the Śāṁkhāyana Sūtra was peculiarly theirs and the Āśvalāyana that of the Śākalas, they were not aware of the fact. Again, if, following these commentators and looking to the present condition of the text, we exclude the hymn containing 'tac chaṁyor' etc. from the Śākala Saṁhitā, and hold it to have at no time formed part of it, the traditional number of Ṛks in it, viz. 10580¼, exceeds the real number by 15, which is exactly the number of Ṛks contained in that hymn. This in itself would show that the hymn formed part of that Saṁhitā at some time, and if we interprete the Gṛhya Sūtras iii. 5, 8 and 9, independently of Naidhruvi-Nārāyaṇa, and in accordance with Āśvalāyana's usual style, we shall find that he supports our inference. And if this inference is correct, all the difficulties pointed out above will disappear, and Śāṁkhāyana's Sūtra as well as Āśvalāyana's will have to be considered as a Sūtra for both the Śākalas and the Bāṣkalas.

According to Nārāyaṇa, Āśvalāyana uses the word ekā in iii. 5. 8 to indicate that the verse "Samānī va ākūtiḥ" should be used to the exclusion of "tac chaṁyor āvṛṇīmahe", which is prescribed in the next sūtra ; and the word ekā in this last sūtra or iii. 5. 9 is used to indicate that 'tac caṁyor āvṛṇīmahe' should be used to the exclusion of 'Samānī va ākūtiḥ'. Thus the sense is, *that* or *this* verse should be used, and not both, i. e., vikalpa or option is here allowed ; but it is a vyavasthita vikalpa, i. e., one course is to be followed by one class of men and the other by another. Now, Āśvalāyana's usual way of expressing a vikalpa is by the use of the word Vā, as in i. 10. 9 ; i. 11. 13 ; i. 14. 5 ; i. 15. 6 ; i. 19. 2 ; i. 20. 1 etc. etc. and we find the word used even a little before in the section under consideration in the Sūtra iii. 5. 3. Different courses for two classes of persons are prescribed by naming one of the classes, as in i. 7. 9 where Jāmadagnas are mentioned, and i. 10. 9, where we have the

Pañcāvattis, or by using the word eke, i. e. "some", as in i. 4. 2; i. 13. 6, etc. So then, if he meant the verse mentioned in iii. 5. 8 for the Śākalas and that in iii. 5. 9 for the Bāṣkalas, we should expect him to name the first school in the first Sūtra or the second in the second. At any rate, even if this mode of expression should be considered unnecessary, the word vā is quite indispensable. Again, Nārāyaṇa interpretes the word ekā in these two sūtras in quite a different manner from that in which he interpretes it in iii. 5. 6. In this last sūtra the word is used to prevent the repetition of the next verse in the text of the Saṁhitā, while in the two, it is, he says, used to prevent the verse in the next or the preceding sūtra from being repeated in addition to the one occurring in the Sūtra itself. And Nārāyaṇa himself is by no means certain about the explanation he has given; for he winds it up by saying " ity evaṁ niveśo yuktaḥ, " which means " This construction is reasonable," or rather according to the sense of the word niveśa as used by the grammarians, it means, "Āśvalāyana should properly have put in words to that effect."

The true explanation of the two sutras seems to me to be this. Āśvalāyana evidently meant to prescribe the first and the last verse of each Maṇḍala. But since those for whom he wrote were supposed to know the whole Saṁhitā by heart continuously without proper divisions, or perhaps to possess a book in which the verses were written continuously without a break, he prescribes a pair of verses in each case, the first of which is the last of the previous Maṇḍala, and the second the first of the next Maṇḍala. This mode of expression can evidently not be used in prescribing the first verse of the first Maṇḍala, or the last verse of the last Maṇḍala; hence, they must be prescribed separately and singly. But to prevent the possibility of the learner connecting the word dvṛca, "pair of verses," with the first verse that has to be prescribed singly, and of his repeating the second verse also of the first Maṇḍala, the word 'ekā' is used in the Sūtra, iii. 5. 6, "Agnim iḍe purohitam ity ekā." But there is no such necessity in the sūtra which prescribes the

last verse of the tenth Maṇḍala, for even if the word "pair" were brought over to it, it could mean nothing, as nothing follows the last verse. If, notwithstanding this, the word ekā is used in that sūtra also, the reason must be the same as that which holds in the case of the sūtra about the first verse of the first Maṇḍala, i. e., it is used to prevent the next verse for being repeated. The conclusion to be derived from this is that some verses followed the verse "samānī va ākūtiḥ" in the text as it existed in Āśvalāyana's time. And the last of these additional verses is also prescribed in iii. 5. 9 by Āśvalāyana; and there too, he uses the word ekā. What could be the meaning of the word there? No more verses can be supposed to follow the last of the addittonal verses. We can understand the meaning or Āśvalāyana's object in using the word only if we suppose that the additional verses which followed "samānī va ākūtiḥ" constituted such a hymn as the saṁjñāna hymn with fifteen Ṛks, as given by the author of the commentary on the Carṇavyūha, the fifth of which was "tac chaṁyor" etc., and the fifteenth or last also the same. If the word ekā had not been used in the sūtra which prescribes "tac chaṁyor" etc., the learner, by connecting the word "pair" with it, might have used the first "tac chaṁyor" etc., i. e. the fifth verse of the hymn, and along with it the sixth also, "Nairhastyam" etc. But ekā prevents the use of this, and the result is that the last verse only of saṁjñāna hymn is prescribed. But now the question arises, if another hymn followed "samānī va ākūtiḥ," why does Āśvalāyana not prescribe its last verse only, "tac chaṁyor" etc., as is done by Śāṁkhāyana, and why does he prescribe "Samānī va akūtiḥ" etc. also. The reason must, I think, be sought for in some such fact as this, that in his time the saṁjñāna hymn was considered as a necessary appendage of the Saṁhitā, though the text of the latter ended with "samānī va ākūtiḥ," or there was no general agreement that that hymn was not a part of the Saṁhitā; some included it, while others did not. To meet both these views, Āśvalāyana prescribed both the verses; so that it is not vikalpa or option that Āśvalāyana allows; an option to be construed as resulting in one verse being prescribed

for one of the two schools, and the other for the other; but twenty-one Ṛks are prescribed, and twenty-one āhutis or oblations for the followers of Ṛgveda generally. And since the scholiasts we have consulted inform us of the tradition that Aśvalāyana sūtra was intended for the Śākalas as well as the Bāṣkalas, the twenty-one Ṛks and āhutis must be understood as laid down for both.

If, for these reasons, we reject Nārāyaṇa's interpretation, and admit the supposition that Aśvalāyana prescribes the two verses either because the saṁjñāna hymn formed a necessary appendage of the Saṁhitā, or its rejection was not accepted by all, Śaṁkhayana must be understood to prescribe the last verse only of that hymn, not because he intended his Sūtra for the Bāṣkalas only, but because he acknowledged the saṁjñāna hymn as decidedly the last hymn of the Saṁhitā, and not a mere appendage; or the view of its being apocryphal was not started in his time, or he did not notice it. But that view, which is only indicated by Aśvalayana, gained strength gradually, especially in the Śākala school, and about the time of the Anukramaṇīs, the hymn was rejected by that school. But the Bāṣkalas were more conservative, and retained it. And even the Śākalas, though the hymn was thrown out, repeat at the present day the last verse or it, " tac chaṁyor " etc., in winding up the Saṁdhyāvandana and the Brahmayajña. It is repeated before the verse "namo brahmaṇe," which is prescribed by Aśvalāyana in iii. 3. 4; and both are prescribed in the Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa (Ed. Bibl. Ind. p. 270, l, 8) This circumstance might not improperly be taken to point to its ancient connection with Śākala saṁhitā. By the way, it would appear, from what I have stated, that the Anukramaṇis are chronologically subsequent to Asvalāyana's Gṛhya.

And now all the difficulties which I mentioned before have been cleared. What the commentator on the Caraṇavyūha says as to the difference between the Saṁhitās of the Aśvalāyana and the Śāṁkhāyana schools is true, as the Saṁhitā of the latter is not necessarily that or the Bāṣkalas. These two Śākhas are only

two Sūtra Śākhas like those of Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin, and Baudhāyana, and do not point to a difference of the Saṁhitā text. If we believe the scholiasts, Āśvalāyana's Sūtra was intended both for the Śākalas and the Bāṣkalas, and we may regard Śaṁkhāyana's also as intended for both. That the Śākhā of Āśvalāyana is a Sūtra Śākhā only, and is not tied down to a particular Saṁhitā, is also indicated by the present practice of Brahmans of that school, who at the end of their Saṁdhyā adorations, have to describe themselves individually as Ṛgvedāntargatāśvalāyana-Śākala-ṣākhādhyāyin. The name of Śākala is added to show what Saṁhitā it is that he studies, as the name Āśvalāyana by itself does not do so. The Bāṣkala Śākhā seems to be extinct now; for the author of the commentary on the Caraṇavyūha, after giving its peculiarities on the authority of a Vṛtti on the Auukramaṇī, says "evam adhyayanābhāvācchākhā'bhāvaḥ," "such a text is not studied, therefore the Śākhā does not exist." The only Saṁhitā, therefore, to which both Āśvalāyana and Śaṁkhāyana now refer is that of the Śākala school. And the text used by the two Sūtra schools differs only in the omission of Rv. viii, 58, by the followers of Śāṁkhāyana. But in this respect they agree with the Sarvānukrama; and it is the Āsvalāyanas who have admitted that hymn into their text, or allowed it to remain there in opposition to that work. My manuscript, also found with a Brahman of the Śaṁkhāyana school, really represents the text of his school, and of no other; and the traditional number of Ṛks in the Śākala Saṁhitā, 10580¹/⁴, is now justified, since at one time the Saṁjñāna hymn formed a part of that Saṁhitā.

It may be remarked in conclusion that the Sūtras of Āśvalāyana and Sāṁkhāyana about the Upākaraṇa ceremony which we have been discussing are adduced by the commentator on the Caraṇavyūha as authorities for including that hymn in the text of the Saṁhitā. One can understand how in his eyes the Sūtra of the latter is an authority, believing as he did that the Saṁhitā of Saṁkhāyana was the same as that of the Śākala school. And probably he attaches the same significance to Āśva-

lāyana's prescribing the use of " tac chaṁyor " as to Saṁkhāyana's ; but he has not explained why it is that the former prescribes the last verse of X. 191, " Samānī vaḥ, " etc. also. He, of course, does not adopt Nārāyaṇa's interpretation. According to the commentator, the Saṁhitā of all the Ṛgveda schools is the same ; which is true, as we have seen, in the case of the four that are extant. The fifth, the Māṇḍūkī, has not yet been traced.

There are two copies, recently transcribed, of the commentary on the Carṇavyūha in the Deccan College collections, No. 19 of 1871-72, and No. 5 of 1873-74. Neither of them contains the name of the author. But the work has been lithographed at Benares, and also printed in the Benares Sanskrit series, as an appendix of the edition of the Prātiśākhya of the White Yajurveda. In both, the name of the commentator is given as Mahidāsa, who wrote the work in the year (expired) tridaśāṅgadharāmite, which in the edition in the Benares Sanskrit series is given as equivalent to 1613, but which really means 1633, tridaśa, meaning " gods ", denotes 33, the traditional number of the gods. This Mahīdāsa or Mahīdāsa is probably the same as the author of the commentary on the Līlāvatī, written in 1644, and noticed in my Report for 1883-84 under No. 205 (pp. 82 and 368). The dates refer to Saṁvat, i. e. the era of Vikrama, and thus correspond to 1577 and 1588 A. D.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE FIRST ORIENTAL CONFERENCE OF INDIA, HELD AT POONA ON THE 5TH OF NOVEMBER 1919.

[From the Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1920, Volume I, pp. 13 ff.]

[His Excellency the Governor of Bombay presided on the occasion. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar was prevented by illness—mainly brought on by the exertions involved in preparing the Address—from attending the meeting, and so the address had to be read by another scholar. This address has been the last literary writing of the author.].—N. B. U.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I sincerely thank you for having elected me President of this Conference. My only qualification for this post is that I am the oldest of you all, and if time allows, I intend to give you an illustration of my age by mentioning the several controversies which I have carried on since I began life as a scholar. I take it that our body here is composed of two classes of learned men, those educated as Pandits of the old school and those who have been studying the literature of the country and the inscriptions and the antiquities which are found scattered in the different provinces, by the application of the critical and comparative method. As to the former class, there are at present two Śāstras mostly studied, namely Vyākaraṇa and Nyāya. In the former, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's Siddāntakaumudī and Manoramā and portions of Nāgojībhaṭṭa's Śabdenduśekhara and his Paribhāṣenduśekhara, and the Navāhnikī and the Aṅgādhikāra from Patañjali'a Mahābhāṣya are taught. My only suggestion with reference to this is, that the Mahābhāṣya is such an important and informing work that it should be the aim of the Vaiyākaraṇa school to read the whole of it with its pupils. I had an occasion in connection with a controversy to give the correct sense of the passage of the

Mahābhāṣya under Pāṇini V. 3. 99 given in the footnote.[1] My difficulty was great especially because Nāgojibhaṭṭa in his Uddyota on the passage interprets Mauryas as manufacturers of idols. I consulted learned grammar-pandits, but they were not able to give me the correct sense off-hand, because this portion of the Mahābhāṣya does not come within the range of their studies. I then wrote a Sanskrit commentary on the passage, and they saw the propriety of taking Mauryas as a race of princes. My interpretation, that the Mauryas are spoken of in the passage as having used golden images for their purpose when they were in need of gold, was accepted by Prof. Kielhorn, who was opposed to me in that portion of the controversy, as he wrote to me in a private letter and did not contest my view again in the Indian Antiquary for 1887, in which the controversy was carried on.

The other school, that of the Nyāya, deals with what is called the Navya (or modern) Nyaya, based upon the Tatvacintāmaṇi, composed by Gaṅgeśopadhyāya of Bengal, the many abstruse commentaries beginning with the Dīdhiti of Raghunāthabhatta Śiromaṇi, and ending with the Jāgadīsī of Jagadīsa Bhattācarya and the Gādādharī of Gadadhara Bhattācārya, are taught and studied in this school.

The whole learning has become extremely artificial and the student of this school acquires a certain intellectual acumen, which, however, is not of much use in ordinary matters. It is very unfortunate that this modern Nyāya should have driven out of the field the system of Logic and Didactics of Nyāya, founded by Gautama and elucidated by Vātsyāyana in his Nyāyabhāṣya, for about the time when this Bhāṣya was written, the Buddhist Mahāyāna school had acquired prominence and the two systems carried on controversies which are interesting to students of the progress of

1 अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति । शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति । किं कारणम् । मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत्तासु न स्यात् । यास्त्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति ।

thought. Vācaspati gives some valuable information about this point and I have given elsewhere a translation of his remark in the following words : —" The revered Akṣapāda having composed the Śāstra calculated to lead to eternal bliss, and an exposition of it having been given by Pakṣilasvāmin, what is it that remains and requires that a Vārtika should be composed ? Though the author of the Bhāṣya has given an exposition of the Śāstra, still modern scholars like Diṅnāga and others having enveloped it in the darkness of fallacious arguments, that exposition is not sufficient for determining the truth. Hence the author of the Uddyota dispels the darkness by his work the Uddyota, i. e., light (torch)". On this Uddyota there is a commentary by Vācaspati himself, entitled Vārtikatātparyatīkā and on this again Udayana wrote the Tātparyapariśuddhi. These works represent the Brahmanic side of the argumentation with the Mahāyānists and a study of them would be both interesting and instructive. But this study has disappeared before the cumbrous subtleties of the modern Nyāya. Still, however, I hear that some of these works are read in the Mithilā country.

There are other schools also which might be styled (i) the literary, (ii) the medical, and (iii) the astronomical or astrological schools. In connection with the first, Kavyas, dramatic plays and works on Poetics such as the Kuvalayānanda, the Kāvyaprakāśa and the Rasagaṅgādhara are generally taught and studied. The course of this school might be improved by including some of the works alluded to in the last two treatises. As to the other two schools I have nothing to say. I am not aware, whether in any of the indigenous establishments there exists a Mīmāṁsā school ; but I think that there ought to be such a school in connection with Dharmaśāstra in which the most important treatises on religious and civil law should be taught and the rules of interpretation given by the Mīmāṁsakas applied for the decision of legal points. I consider it advisable that in connection with this Dharmaśāstra and Mīmāṁsā school

the oldest treatises, the Bhāṣya of Śabaraswāmin and the Vārtikas of Kumārilabhaṭṭa, should be regularly studied.

As to the other class of our body here, viz. that composed of critical scholars, the first thing we have to bear in mind is that the study of the Indian literature, inscriptions and antiquity according to the critical and comparative method of inquiry, so as to trace the history and progress of Indian thought and civilization, is primarily a European study. Our aim, therefore, should be to closely observe the manner in which the study is carried on by European scholars and adopt such of their methods as recommend themselves to our awakened intellect. To an intelligent man this ought to be enough to qualify him for the pursuit of critical scholarship, and the Government of India seemed, at the Conference held at Simla in 1911, to favour the idea of opening Research Institutes at the Capital City and presidency-towns ; but subsequent events led to the idea being set aside, and instead, the Government provisionally adopted the plan of sending qualified Indians to Europe and America to be trained under famous Western scholars. We have now among us several gentlemen, who have returned after serving out their period of apprenticeship. There are others among us, who have qualified themselves for the purpose by the method alluded to above by me.

Between the Western and Indian scholars a spirit of co-operation should prevail and not a spirit of depreciation of each other. We have but one common object, the discovery of the truth. Both, however, have prepossessions and even prejudices and the same evidence may lead to their arriving at different conclusions. Often, however, when controversies are carried on, the truth comes out prominently, and there is a general acquiescence when it does so. To express the same idea in other words, the angle of vision, if I may use an expression that has become hackneyed, may be and is different. The Indian's tendency may be towards rejecting foreign influence on the development of his country's civilization and to claim high

antiquity for some of the occurrences in its history.[1] On the other hand the European scholar's tendency is to trace Greek, Roman or Christian influence at work in the evolution of new points, and to modernize the Indian historical and literary events. It is on this account that there has been no consensus of opinion as to the approximate period when the most ancient portion of the hymns of the Ṛgveda was composed. Some refuse to assign it a higher antiquity than 15 centuries before Christ, while others carry it far to the beginning of Kaliyuga, i. e. to about 3101 B. C. A scholar may have conceived a prejudice against the Indian race and may look down upon the Vedic Ṛṣis. Thus, our critical method is unfortunately too often vitiated by extraneous influences. But this probably is due to human weakness. A critical scholar should consider his function to be just like that of a judge in a law-court ; but even there human weakness operates, and renders a uumber of appeals necessary, so that one judge differs from another, and so does one critical scholar from another.

Now as to the subjects to which our critical studies are directed, the principal one is that of the interpretation of the Vedas. This has been the monopoly of the European scholars and we Indians have not taken any considerable part in it. But it is indispensably necessary that we should enter the field. A European scholar may give up the function of a judge which I have attributed to him, and assume that of a prosecuting counsel. A certain individual, looking to what are called the Dana-stutis or praises of gifts, has given it as his general opinion that the old Ṛṣis or seers had no higher aim than the materialistic one— the acquisition of wealth. Thus he bases a universal judgment

1 Notable instances of the former are afforded by the persistent efforts made by some of us to prove that the twelve signs of the Zodiac are not adopted by the Hindus from the Greeks, though names of the signs are the translations of the Greek names, and even these last are given in a verse of Varāhamihira. Garga, as quoted by the latter states, 'The Yvvanas are the Mlecchas among whom this Śāstra (astronomy, and astrology) is well known ; they even are worshipped like Ṛṣis. "

on what he finds in about 15 or 16 hymns out of 1017. In the same Vaśiṣṭha Maṇḍala in which he finds such a praise of gifts (hymn 18), there are the outpourings of a contrite heart afflicted with a deep sense of sinfulness, and humbly begging to be forgiven. But such points as this last do not attract the attention of the prosecuting counsel. Then again the same scholar asserts that " The hymns of the Ṛgveda are for the most part composed with the technical object of some ritual and this object stands quite near to the later ritual. " This is perfectly wrong. The Ṛgveda collection has been treated, from the times of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa down to the present day, as a storehouse of sacred texts to be uttered and used whenever any new ceremony has to be sanctified. Thus the Brāhmaṇa again and again states " That contributes to the success of the sacrificial worship, which is possessed of an appropriate form, i. e., when the act performed is alluded to by the Ṛgveda. " This rule has been followed by all writers on later ceremonies. The resemblance between the verse and the act may be simply verbal as in the prescription of ' Śukraṁ te, etc. ' (Ṛgveda VI, 58, 1) in which there is mention of the bright form (Śukra) of Pūṣan, i. e., his form during the continuance of the day, to the invocation of Śukra or the planet Venus in the ceremony called the ' Grahamakha. ' And this adaptation of different Ṛgveda verses for the performance of the Soma services also, such as a Śastra repeated by the Hotā, i. e. a priest, and for the choice of the Anuvākyā and Yājyā verses, is apparent from the services and the verses themselves, so that there is no question that the hymns of the Ṛgveda form the storehouse for the preparation of the services required for rites that came on in later times. (See my Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-8884, pages 32 ff.). Thus it will be seen that the Ṛgveda hymns were mostly composed for purposes other than those connected with the sacrificial ritual and there are a great many hymns which are to be recited in the morning on the first day of the Soma sacrifice (prātaranuvāka), which are addressed to Agni, Uṣas,

and the Aśvins. The commentator on the Āśv. Śr. Sūtra (IV, 15, 11) states that Uṣas has nothing to do with Soma sacrifice; still as the goddess is connected with the preceding Agni and the following Aśvins, hymns to her are intended in this list. Thus the theory that the hymns to the Vedic deities were inspired by the poetic inspiration of beauty holds its ground firmly, notwithstanding the assertions of the above-mentioned prosecuting counsel of a scholar. The three deities, Agni, Uṣas and Aśvins, are represented as manifesting themselves in the morning. The old Āryans were accustomed to rise very early and enjoy the beauty of the Dawn and its thickening away into brighter light. It will be seen from all this that the cult followed the composition of hymns and did not precede it in a far outweighing measure.

Then again an attempt has been made to throw discredit on the ritual prescribed in the Gṛhyasūtras and the Śrautasūtras by tracing them to the practices of savages like the Red Indians of America; and even the Upanayana and the marriage ceremonies of the domestic rites and the Dīkṣā ceremony are treated similarly. But the main points involved in these ceremonies are neglected. The priest in the case of Upanayana is the father of the boy himself and not a developed form of the "medicine man" of the barbarians. The boy is dedicated to the service of the God Savitar in the words " O God Savitar, this is thy Brahmacārin; preserve him, may he not die "; and the object of the ceremony is not to scare away the evil spirits of whom the Acārya or father is afraid. The putting on of the hide of an antelope in the Dīkṣā and other ceremonies, the fasting which precedes them, and such other practices came down to the Hindus from their residence in the forest, where the antelope was a familiar figure, and from the necessity of preserving the body in an unencumbered condition before the performance of any rite. This is done even at the present day when the Brahmans have to perform holy functions such as meditation, celebration of the birth of such a god as Kṛṣṇa, the performance of the

Śrāddha ceremony, etc., and these practices are certainly by no means to be traced to the weird performances of the medicine-man of the savages. The question of magic rites is an independent one and should not be confounded with the cults prescribed in the Sūtras. As shown by an inscription, regarding a treaty between the king of the Hittites and the king of Mitani, found in Asia Minor, the Aryans who ultimately migrated to India were the neighbours of the Assyrians or Asuryas and must have learnt from their connection with these and the Babylonians the art of magic, and the subsequent composition of the Atharva-veda must have been greatly influenced by this circumstance. Therefore, whatever weird and magical practices are to be found in the Hinduism of the day, are not unlikely to be traced to this source.

Notwithstanding such aberrations of scholars as we have noticed, European scholarship deserves our highest respect, and the erring individuals are corrected by other scholars and on the whole no great harm is done. Still, we Indian scholars ought to devote ourselves strenuously to Vedic study. Yāska tells us that a science should not be taught or communicated to a fault-finding or prejudiced man and the mood to be observed in studying a subject is, according to the Bhagavadgītā, that of Śraddhā, i. e., a disposition to receive whatever strikes as reasonable or an attitude of open-mindedness. We are likely to be more actuated by this spirit in the study of our Vedas than any foreign nation. Still those of us who have not become critical scholars by closely observing the method of European scholars, or serving out a period of apprenticeship to them, exhibit a number of faults and weaknesses which entirely vitiate their reasoning. A young man, the editor of a good many Sanskrit works, asks me with a derisive smile what the necessity was of naming a MS., showing the country it came from and the age in which it was written, when the mere fact of its presenting a varied reading is enough for all purposes. He did not know that when a judge noted down the age of a wit-

ness appearing before him, the name of the caste or the community or the country to which he belonged, he got information from him which had a value in the estimate of the evidence. Similarly another young man, not fully acquainted with the critical method, said that Nāmadeva and Jñānadeva were contemporaries, but that the difference between their languages was due to the mistakes of successive scribes. He thus believed that the scribes could reconstitute the grammar and lexicon of a language, forgetting to ask himself why the marvels effected by the scribes in the case of Nāmadeva should not have been effected by them in the case of Jñānadeva himself, whose language they had not altered. I do not give these as solitary instances but as due to the working of a spirit which has rendered Jñāneśvara, the author of Jñāneśvarī, which does not contain the name of God Viṭhobā at all and whose Marathi is very archaic, to be the same individual as the author of the Haripāṭha, whose abhaṅgas teem with allusions to Vithobā and Rakhumāī and whose language considerably approaches modern Marathi. The Marathi literature which has come down to us is full of such strange theories. It is a very disagreeable matter to dwell at this length on the faults of our Indian scholars, but it is an allegiance which I owe to truth.

The study of Vedantism among European scholars is dominated by the views of Prof. Deussen, who is a follower of Śaṁkaracārya's system of world-illusion and the spiritual monism, but it is wonderful that nobody should have penetrated below the surface of the question and seen that it is not one system that the Upaniṣads teach, but several, inconsistent with each other and each supported by an Upaniṣad text (see the Introductory chapter of my Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism etc.). I have already alluded, in connection with the modern system of Nyāya, which forms the stock-learning of the existing Nyāya school, to the growth of a controversy between the Brahmans and the Mahāyāna Buddhists, the Brahmanic side of which is represented by Vātsyāyana, Bharadvāja, etc., and the Buddhistic side by

Diṅnāga and others. This controversy might well form the subject of close study among modern critical scholars and perhaps even a clue to Śaṁkarācārya's theory of world-illusion might be found in the Nihilism of the Buddhist Mahāyāna school.

Another very important branch of our study is that of inscriptions, which are scattered over the whole country and are engraved on stones or on copper-plates. These last are mostly deeds of gifts of villages or of the revenues of villages to Brahmans or for the support of temples and other religious establishments. These deeds contain the pedigrees of the donating monarch, with notices of important points in the careers of his ancestors and in that of the reigning monarch himself. These notices have a historical value which must be judged of by our usual canons of criticism. We are thus enabled to reconstitute sketches of dynasties and of the principal points in the history of the provinces concerned. The inscriptions on stones contain records of specific events which enable us to find a clue to the progress of the occurrences described therein. We should be groping in the dark if there were no chronological light thrown on the events recorded in our reconstituted sketches. Such chronology we have for post-Christian occurrences. We have an era which originally dated from the coronation of a Śaka king and was called also the Era of Śaka kings. By a mistake in identification, such as those we have noticed in our vernacular literature, the name of the Śaka king was supplanted and that of the Śālivāhana or Sātavāhana Dynasty which followed those kings was substituted in its place. In the usual practice, the two names are put together and the era is called " Śālivāhana Śaka " which can denote the names borne by two dynasties. There is another era to which the name of Vikramāditya is attached. There is a third bearing the name of the Gupta princes, which has been in use for some centuries. Its initial date, as compared with the Śaka era, was given by the Arabic writer Alberuni as 242 Śaka, but unfortunately that writer stated it to be the era of the extinction of the

Gupta dynasty. It was however found to have been used by the Gupta princes themselves and hence scholars and antiquarians not only disbelieved *this fact,* but threw discredit on Alberuni's statement of the initial date of Gupta era. Long and pungent controversies followed on this matter, new initial dates for the Gupta era being proposed. I also took part in the controversy and my conclusion, recorded at the end of a note in the Appendix A to the second edition of my Early History of the Deccan, is as follows :—" Thus, then, the evidence in favour of Alberuni's initial date for the Gupta era appears to me to be simply overwhelming. " Subsequently in an article in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLII, pp. 199 etc., I had to consider the relation between the dates found in Mandasor inscriptions. These dates are given as the years that had elapsed after the constitution of the Mālavas as a Gaṇa or a political unit. This Mālavagaṇa came afterwards to be identified with the name of Vikramāditya, just as the Śaka era came to be associated with the name of Śālivāhana or Śātavāhana. The only Vikramāditya that became famous, after the institution of the era of the political unity of the Mālavas, was Candragupta III of the imperial Gupta dynasty, who came to the throne about A. D. 400, conquered Ujjain, made it one of his capital cities, drove out the Śakas and was consequently called Śakāri. These two ears then, that of the Śaka and that of Vikrama, have become our guides in determining the chronology of the post-Christian occurrences.

Another source of information is that which is afforded by comparison of the statements by foreign writers with those found in the indigenous records. Thus Megasthenes is mentioned by Greek writers as an ambassador sent by Selukos to the court of Sandracotta. Sandracotta is the same as Candagutta, the popular pronunciation of the Sanskrit Candragupta. Hence we gather the contemporaneity of Candragupta, the Maurya, with Selukos.

Similarly, in the inscriptions of Aśoka " Antiyoko nāma Yona Rājā " is mentioned as a friend of Aśoka, as also four

others associated with Antiocus. Thus the age of Candragupta is about 325-315 B. C. and that of Aśoka's coronation is about 269 B. C. Similarly we gather chronological information through the comparison of Chinese literature with the Indian. The Kārikās of Īśvarakṛṣṇa on Sāṁkhya philosophy and its commentary, for instance, was translated into Chinese between the years 557 A. D. and 569 A. D. Pulakeśin came to the throne in 610 A. D. and was the only southern monarch to conquer whom the efforts of Śīlāditya or Harṣavardhana proved fruitless ; he remained an independent sovereign. These facts are gathered from the writings of Hiuen Tsang and our copper-plate inscriptions, which tally with each other.

In this field of the study of inscriptions the most confusing points are those connected with the dynasty of Kaniṣka. It is a great desideratum that all inscriptions and other scraps of information connected with the family should be brought together and attempts should be made to fix their dates. No such comprehensive attempt has, I believe, been yet made, and it is now left to those of us who have paid special attention to this branch of our study to make it. The Epigraphia Indica has been doing good service by the discovery and publication of new inscriptions and the whole department of Archæology is devoted to making excavations and bringing to light new sources of information. Such a source is that of a Greek of the name Heliodora, having been discovered by means of an inscription at Besnagar as a Bhāgavata and a worshipper of Vāsudeva, the rise of this sect being shown as early as the 2nd Century before the Christian era (See my Vaiṣṇavism etc. pp. 3-4). The field of research in this connection is extensive ; to cultivate it and to bring out fruitful results it is necessary that more of us should devote themselves to the subject.

During the period that I have been working in this line. I have had to take part in several controversies. One of these I have already mentioned, and that is about the Gupta era.

I now close the address by briefly setting forth the points involved in one that is still agitating us, and that is about the genuineness of the Arthaśāstra attributed to Kauṭilya, which has been recently discovered. Prof. Jacobi believes that it is the production of Cāṇakya or Viṣṇugupta, who overthrew the Nandas and raised Candragupta, the Maurya, to the throne. Prof. Hillebrandt, on the other hand, attributes the authorship to a member of the school of Kauṭilya and not to the great Cāṇakya himself. The point I wish to make out is that it was not written so early as in the times of Candragupta, the Maurya, but later. The earliest notice of Kauṭilya's work is that contained in the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, in which occur a number of passages which are the same as in Kauṭilya. It is then mentioned by Kāmandaka in the third century, by Daṇḍin in the sixth century and by Bāṇa in the seventh century A. D. But its existence is noticed by no writer earlier than Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra. Patañjali, the author of Mahābhāṣya, throws side-glances on the things existing in or about his time. He mentions the Candragupta-Sabhā, the greed of the Mauryas for gold and their selling golden idols, and the beating and the sounding of the Mṛdaṅga, Śaṅkha and Paṇava in the temples of Kubera, Rāma and Keśava, the existence of a sect of Śivabhāgavatas holding an iron lance in their hands. In the extent of the literature written in the Sanskrit language, he enumerates a number of Vedic words with the Aṅgas, Vākovākya (which is defined by Śaṁkarācārya and Raṅga-Rāmānuja as Tarka-śāstra), Itihāsa, Purāṇa and Vaidyaka, but there is no room anywhere here for Kauṭilya or for his work the Arthaśāstra. Now as to the arguments that may be taken as pointing to an earlier date for the Arthaśāstra, the following may be mentioned :—

(i) Ānvīkṣikī as defined by Kauṭilya consists of Sāṁkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata. This is the popular philosophy of the time of the Śvetāśvataropaniṣad and the Bhagavadgītā, while the Ānvīkṣikī of Vātsyāyana's Nyāyabhāṣya is the system of Gotama

himself. They should rather show a later date for Nyāya Philosophy than an earlier one for the Arthaśāstra.

(ii) Then again, Kauṭilya speaks of his writing a Bhāṣya on his own Sūtra and of apadeśa, i. e. the statement of the views of others and lastly of the Siddhāntin. Now in the chapter on Tantrayuktis he mentions this last circumstance as the yukti or the device for the exposition of the system, so that it should not be necessarily understood that the views of the Siddhāntin or the last writer are given by himself. Similarly in the Vedāntasūtra, when the views of other authors are first given and that of Bādarāyaṇa at the end, it ought by no means to be understood that Bādarāyaṇa himself was the writer. Hence the occurrence of the name of Kauṭilya should not be taken as indicating his authorship of the whole statement.

Now as to the date of the Arthaśāstra itself, it depends on that of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra. Vātsāyana lived after Kuntala Śātakarani Sātavāhana, whom he mentions as having killed his queen Malayavatī in an amorous sport by a pair of scissors. Kuntala must have flourished in the middle of the first century B. C. and consequently Vātsyāyana lived about a hundred years afterwards, so that he may be placed in the first century of the Christian era. Since these calculations are rough, we may assign him to the first or the second century A. D. This is the earliest date to which we can refer Kauṭilya. The last śloka of the chapter on Tantrayukti is :—

येन शस्त्रं च शास्त्रं च नन्दराजगता च भूः ।
अमर्षेणोद्धृतान्याशु तेन शास्त्रमिदं कृतम् ॥

the sense of which is "This Śāstra was composed by him who, unable to bear it, extricated this Śāstra, the insignia of authority and the country under the sway of Nandarāja." The second word Śāstra which occurs in the last line refers to the book actually written, while the word occurring in the first line alludes to the conception and development of the idea of the Śāstra. This conception and the development were attributed

to Viṣṇugupta by tradition, as well as the removal of the insignia of authority and the overthrow of the sway of Nandas. The Arthaśāstra therefore was attributed to Kauṭilya, because traditionally he was the conceiver of it.

The study of the Avesta or the sacred literature of the Parsis has been associated with the study of our Sanskrit literature. There is a close resemblance between the languages of this literature and of the Vedic Sanskrit, so much so that, with but the slightest changes, certain passages from the one can be turned into the other. But a critical study of the Parsi Scriptures began with a French scholar named Anquetil Duperron, who came to this Presidency in the 18th century, discovered that literature and was struck with its importance. Critical studies were undertaken in Europe and several scholars such as Martin Haug, etc., devoted their lives to it. In India critical scholarship of the European type was introduced by the late Mr. K. R. Kama, in whose memory there exists an Institute erected by his friend Mr. Sukhadwala. Avestic studies were subsequently conducted by a number of Parsi scholars, prominent among whom is Dr. Jivanji Jamshetji Modi. It is very desirable that intelligent Parsis in greater numbers should enter into the field and conduct researches into their ancient religion and customs.

The Arabic and Persian literature also should prove a fruitful field of study. Early Arabic and Persian writers like Alberuni, have much to say about the contemporary history, religions, customs and manners of India. Their study is, therefore, bound to prove of great use. Again our modern vernaculars, especially the Aryan ones, have borrowed much from these sources and many points connected with their etymology cannot be satisfactorily solved, unless we seek help from the Persian and Arabic languages. I am glad to note that the attention of young scholars is drawn in this direction also. In this connection I have to note with satisfaction the useful work

that the Hyderabad Research Society is carrying on under the patronage of His Most Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government. I do hope that scholars will take greater interest in these subjects, as also in the Chinese and other literatures, without which Oriental studies are bound to remain incomplete and one-sided.

Now, gentlemen, I close. I am very glad to observe that critical scholarship has, notwithstanding the defects alluded to by me, been flourishing among us. Good books and lectures have recently been published, especially in connection with the Calcutta University. Our own University has not extended that support to original research that we might expect from it. Still, I close the active years of my life with an asured belief that sound critical scholarship has grown up among us, and that it will maintain its own against aspersions and attacks. I am very glad to observe that a large number of papers will be read at the session we begin to-day, a good many of which must be important, so that in every way we have reasons to congratulate ourselves ; and this our Conference will, I trust, be a landmark in the progress of our studies.

MY VISIT TO THE VIENNA ORIENTAL CONGRESS

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XVII (1889) pp. 72ff].

BEING A PAPER READ BEFORE THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, ON FEBRUARY 11TH, 1887.

"When my college friend and class-fellow, Mr. Javirilal Umiashankar Yajnik, saw me a few hours after my return to Bombay from Europe, and proposed that I should give an account of my visit at a meeting of this Society, I had no hesitation in saying that that was the last place I should myself think of for such a purpose. My visit to Europe was of a very short duration, and though I could say something that might interest an ordinary native audience, I had very little to communicate that was worthy of being listened to by such a learned body as the Bombay Asiatic Society. Besides, even as regards a mixed native audience, so many natives of the country had visited Europe before me, and lived there for a number of years, and communicated their experiences to their countrymen after their return by publishing books and pamphlets and delivering lectures, that short as my visit was, I could have nothing new to tell even to such an audience. My scruples, it appears, were communicated to the respected President of the Society, who thereupon suggested that I should give principally an account of the Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna to which I had been deputed, and in connection with that, some of the impressions which what I saw in Europe had produced on my mind. To this I assented, and I thus appear before you to-day.

I arrived in London on Saturday, the 28th of August, and stayed there till Thursday, the 9th of September. On the afternoon of this day I left for Oxford, where I spent the next three days. On Monday I went thence to Birmingham, and returned to London on the following Wednesday. The next

four days I spent in London, and left England for France on Monday, the 20th. In London I saw St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminister Abbey, the House of Commons, India Office, the National Gallery, the Guildhall, the British Museum, the Tower of London, the Kew Gardens, Hampton Court, the Royal Exchange, the Bank of England, the Hyde Park, the Albert Memorial, the Albert Hall, and the Indian and Colonial Exhibition. I had unfortuantely none to guide me in London, as I had in Oxford and Birmingham, and therefore I did not see as much or as well as I might have. I met our late Secretary, Dr. Codrington, in Vienna, and on my informing him that I had been to London, he told me he was in London during the time I was there, and had he known of my being there, he would have been glad to take me with him and show me all the sights. I was very sorry that I did not know Dr. Codrington was in London; but as it was, everybody was very busy and nobody could make it convenient to go with me. I cannot stop here to give the impression that each of the buildings and institutions I saw produced on my mind, and my general impression I will give further on.

I wore in Europe my usual Maratha costume, the turban, the long coat, and the white *uparṇem* or scarf. In the streets of London and in the places I visited, therefore, I often met persons who stopped me with the words *bahut garmī hoti hai, salām*, &c. The conversation thus begun in Hindustani was continued in English, and I was asked to what part of India I belonged, and where I was going. These were Anglo-Indians; and they told me how long they were in India and in what part, and spoke of the days they spent in the country with agreeable feelings. I was once accosted in Marathi near the Royal Exchange with the words तुम्ही कोठून आलां, "Whence do you come?" I said I was from Bombay, and asked the gentleman whether he was in the Maratha country, to which he replied in Gujarati, अमे काठेवाडमां हता, "I was in Kattiawar," [illegible] "What office did you hold there?" I asked. अमे [illegible]

होता "I was Political Agent," was the reply. Then I asked in Marathi आपण आंडरसन साहेब काय, "Are you Anderson Saheb?" to which he replied, "Yes." Then we went on speaking in English together, and he was kind enough to go with me and show me the Office of the Oriental Bank to which I wanted to go.

The first person I saw in London was Dr. Rost, Librarian, India Office, who received me very kindly. I visited him several times, and on one occasion he remarked that my lectures on the Sanskrit and the derived languages, three of which the Society did me the honour of publishing in their journal last year, were very important, and wished me to complete them as soon as I could. The second time that I saw him in the India Office library, Dr. Eggeling, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Edinburgh, happened to be there, and I was introduced to him by Dr. Rost. Professor Eggeling has been compiling a descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office library, on the model of Professor Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, and he had come that day to London to examine some of the manuscripts carefully. I had an interesting conversation with him, and in his congenial company, and in that of Dr. Rhys Davids, the Pali scholar, to whom I was introduced by Professor Eggeling three or four days afterwards, I felt myself at home. I passed a very agreeable evening with them at the National Liberal Club, of which Dr. Rhys Davids is a member. We had a long conversation on a variety of topics, ranging from Buddhistic metaphysics to English and Indian politics, including the annexation of Burma. Dr. Rhys Davids seemed to be full of admiration for the freedom, boldness, and truth of the religious and philosophic thought of ancient India about the time of Buddha, to which the modern world according to him presents no parallel. Professor Eggeling did not quite agree with him' taking into consideration the development of philosophic speculation since the time of Kant, and I was disposed to sympathize with him, though as regards religious ideas and theories I per-

fectly agreed with Dr. Rhys Davids. According to Dr. Rhys Davids, the Buddhistic ideal is the condition of an Arhat who enjoys profound internal peace undisturbed by passion. It is a condition of holiness, goodness, and wisdom. This seems in his opinion to be at the bottom of the religious aspirations of man, or probably the only thing that is valuable in those aspirations, and this alone Buddhism set up as an ideal to be striven for by the religious man, to the exclusion of the ideas of God, the human soul as one unchangeable substance, and eternal existence. Dr. Rhys Davids is an enthusiastic Pali scholar, and has succeeded in organizing the Pali Text Society, in connection with which, with the aid of other scholars, he has been publishing in annual instalments the sacred books of the Southern Buddhists. The service he has thus been rendering to the cause of scholarship and research is invaluable. But it is very much to be regretted that he cannot devote his whole time to his studies, and has to work for his bread at the bar. If he had been a German he would have got a Professorship somewhere. He is, however, Professor of Pāli in the London University, but without pay and without pupils. He is a candidate for the vacant Secretaryship of the Royal Asiatic Society, which is a paid appointment; and I have no doubt, if elected, he will be of very great service to the Society; but it is by no means certain that he will get the appointment. I saw him on one occasion in his rooms in Brick Court, when he showed me some splendid Pali Manuscripts which had been presented to him, if I remember right, by the king of Siam.

Another gentleman with whom I came in contact in London and who was very kind to me was Colonel Henry Yule, Member of the India Council and President of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Edward Thomas, a Bengal Civilian, who, after his retirement devoted himself to the study of Indian antiquities, and Dr. J. Fergusson, a zealous student of ancient Indian architecture and archæology, both of whom were active members of the Royal Asiatic Society, are dead. The Society's Secretary,

Mr. Vaux, has also rather suddenly been removed by death at an early age and another not yet appointed ; so that the Society is not in a very flourishing condition at present ; and Colonel Yule observed to me how difficult it was for them to get enough matter for the Society's Journal. I also came in contact with Mr. J. S. Cotton, Editor of the Academy, who was once employed by the Secretary of State to examine the materials in the India Office, and digest them into a report on the advancement or condition of India ; and he seemed to be very familiar with Indian matters.

At Oxford I was received with cordiality and almost enthusiastic kindness by my old master, Mr. Sidney Owen, who was Professor of History and Political Economy in the Elphinstone College, from January 1857 to April 1858, and his family. Here I had before me the charming and edifying spectacle of a well-regulated, high-toned, and happy English family. The one object of father, mother, sons, and daughters seemed to be to please me ; and I felt I was in the midst of persons who had, as it were, found in me a long-lost son or brother. Oxford was at this time empty, the Colleges having vacation, and all I could see was the buildings. Mr. Owen showed me Magdalen, Christ Church, Worcester, Baliol, and others. The quadrangles with the green grass nicely trimmed, the gardens and walks, and the canals give a rural, quiet, and pleasing appearance to the scene calculated to compose the mind and dispose it to contemplation, thought, and study. Within the premises of the same colleges there are often buildings in three different styles of architecture, the mediæval, that of the seventeenth century, and the modern. It was a curious sight of a nature to awaken historical associations rather than produce a sensation of harmony, the stone of the mediaeval buildings in particular being in a crumbling condition. But even this characteristic is calculated, I suppose, to confirm the reflective mood. I also saw the Sheldonian Theatre where the commemoration is held, the Bodleian Library, the Martyr's Memorial, and others. I paid

a visit to Prof. Max Müller, who unfortunately was not in good spirits on account of the recent loss of a favourite daughter. He regretted very much that he should have been in that condition at the time of my visit. He wished to see more of me than he could under the circumstances. Still I had a pleasant and interesting conversation with him for an hour and a half. He told me he had quoted my lectures in a paper that he had been publishing in a German periodical, and read a passage from that paper in which he interprets the expression Bhāṣārthāḥ, occurring in connection with certain roots in the Dhatupātha as meaning "roots the sense of which is to be known from the spoken language." Though of course I am a strong advocate of the view that Sanskrit was the Vernacular of the Indian Aryans, and think I have proved the point in my last lecture, still I did not believe that the expression Bhāṣārthāḥ meant what the Professor said, and was sorry not to be able to agree with him. Then he spoke to me about a letter he had received from the late Divan of Bhavnagar, Mr. Gauriśaṁkar, which was written on the occasion of his assuming the order of Saṁnyāsa, and about a copy of the new Saṁnyāsin's work on the Vedānta, presented to him by the author. Professor Max Muller spoke approvingly of the doctrine of the Vedānta that the contemptibility and misery of life come to an end when an individual soul knows himself to be the same with Brahman or the Supreme soul. As I am not an admirer of the doctrine in the form in which it is taught by Śaṁkaracarya and which alone is now the prevalent form in India, I observed that though according to his system a man must rise to the knowledge, "I am Brahma," previous to his entering on the state of deliverance or of eternal bliss, still it is essential that the feeling of *me* or *egoism* should be destroyed as a necessary condition of entrance into that state. The *me* is the first fruit of ignorance, and it must be destroyed in the liberated condition. A soul has no individual consciousness when he is delivered, and in that state he cannot have the knowledge, "I am Brahman." The illustration often given of a

liberated soul that becomes one with Brahman is that of the space or ether that is enclosed in an earthen jar becoming one with the infinite outer space or ether when the jar is broken to pieces. In such an absorption into or identification with Brahman when there is no individual consciousness and no knowledge that "I am the Brahman," what happiness can there be ? Besides, the proposition, "I am Brahman," does not according to Śaṁkarācārya's system mean I am one with the Supreme Soul, who is the author of the Universe and who dwells in the Universe, so full of beauty and grandeur. This, I believe, is the idea of the author of the Vedāntasūtra and of some of the Upaniṣads ; but with Śaṁkarācārya, the Universe or Creation is an illusion like that perceived by a man who sees a rope in darkness and mistakes it for a serpent, and flies away from it through fear. Misery, worldly happiness, sinfulness, littleness, and indeed all finite thought and feeling, are illusions. When these are dispelled the soul is free and happy and without finiteness or limitations, so that the proposition, "I am Brahman,' means "I am not the miserable, sinful, little soul, tied down to this or that mode of thought or feeling, that I appear to myself to be ; but a free, blissful, unchanging and unconditioned soul." This is the real nature of the soul, and anything at variance with it that is felt is an illusion ; so that Śaṁkarācārya's ideal is not to become one with another being who is the Supreme Ruler of all, but to see that oneself *is* really a blissful and unconditioned being. Though I might admire the doctrine about the first ideal, I do not think the latter to be very charming. This discussion we carried on for some time, and then we turned to other matters. Professor Max Müller made me a present of a copy of the four parts of the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* as a memento of our short meeting, and with a few complimentary remarks on my work in the field of scholarship, for which I feel very thankful to him, brought the conversation to a close.

On Sunday, the 12th, I was introduced by Mr. Owen to Professor Jowett. He received me very kindly, but nothing of importance was said in the short conversation that followed.

I went to Birmingham to have a glimpse of Industrial England. Fortunately I found an obliging friend in Colonel A. Phelps, late Commissary-General, Bombay. The British Association for the Advancement of Science recently held its meetings at the place, and an exhibition of the arts and industries of Birmingham had been got up for the occasion. Colonel Phelps took me twice to see the exhibition, and there I saw the products of an immense variety of industries with the latest improvements, from a new apparatus for electric lighting without the high tension so dangerous to life that is a drawback in the present mode, to a machine for washing clothes by means of steam, and school furniture so manufactured as to avoid the evils such as shortsightedness, which results from the use of the present kind of furniture. The kind Colonel also showed me the engine factory of Tangyes, Gillott's pen factory, and a pin factory. He then took me to the Birmingham Municipal Offices and Town Hall, both of which are splendid buildings, and in the afternoon to the Liberal Club, where I saw a great many members in the dining and the smoking-rooms. Mr. Chamberlain came in a short while after we entered, and I was introduced to him by the Colonel. A short but interesting conversation followed. Mr. Chamberlain endeavoured to excuse himself from attending to the affairs of India, while I strove hard to fix the ultimate responsibility of governing the country on the British Parliament and through it on each member, and especially on the leaders of parties.

After having seen so much of England I started from London for Vienna on the 20th. I went by way of Paris where I could spend only two days, during which, however, I saw so much as to make my head giddy. I saw the artificial lakes, the grand cascade, the race-course, the dismantled palace of St. Cloud, the palace, galleries, and park of Versailles, the Louvre, Luxembourg, Pantheon, the porcelain and tapestry manufactories which, I was told, are maintained at the expense of Government, and other places. Paris appeared to me to be a beautiful town, the

palace at Versailles with the parks and avenue in front is superb, and the pictures at that palace and in the Louvre are innumerable and beautiful. The French appeared to me to be a nation of lovers of beauty and spared no expense, since the Government maintained even factories for painting pictures on procelain and weaving them by means of coloured thread. But when certain places in the town called to my memory the frightful deeds of the people during the first revolution and of the Commune in 1871, the melancholy reflection forced itself on me that even an intense love of beauty, which I consider to be heavenly, is not necessarily associated in the human heart with a heavenly or angelic character, and that it is a mere passion in the human breast like rage and resentment. I was sorry not to have met any of the French Oriental scholars in Paris. I had very little time, and besides I was told that one of them, Monsieur Senart, was not in town, and I subsequently learned that even Monsieur Barth was absent. From Paris I went to Munich, where I stopped for a day. I found it to be a charming little town. There is an excellent museum, and a building in an elevated position called the Maximilian College, which commands a very fine view. I saw these and also a bronze colossus representing Bavaria, behind which there is a corridor in the shape of three sides of a rectangle with marble busts of the great men of the country placed in niches in the walls. The view from this point also is commanding, and in the light of the morning sun the place looked very charming and well suited for contemplation. From Munich I went on Saturday, the 25th, to Vienna, the place of my destination, which I reached at about 9 P. M.

The next morning Dr. Rost and Dr. Kielhorn came to see me at the Hotel de France, which is situated close to the University. We walked together for about an hour and returned by a tramcar to the University. The meetings of the Congress were held in this building, and the office of the managing committee was also located there. We stepped into the office and signed our names in the Register of members. In the even-

ing a conversazione was held at one of the hotels in order that the members o' the Congress might make each other's acquaintance. The attendance was very large, and I was introduced to and exchanged cards with a great many scholars. There were two Egyptians with an ivory complexion and Turkish caps, a Chinaman, the Secretary of the Chinese legation in his national costume with the long pigtail, a Japanese in European costume, an Indian Mussulman, native of Aligarh and educated at Cambridge, similarly dressed, and myself with my turban and *uparneh*. The Chinaman's knowledge of French was greatly admired, and they said he spoke the language perfectly as well as a Parisian.

The next morning at ten o'clock the members of the Congress gathered together in the large hall of the University. Opposite to them on the other side of a large table sat the members of the Committee of Organization with the minister of Public Instruction and Archduke Rainer, who is a great patron of learning in Austria. The Archduke in a short speech declared the Congress open, after which the Minister of Public Instruction rose and welcomed the members of the Congress in the name of the Government. He was followed by the President, Baron Kremer, who delivered a long address in French. Then the leaders of the different deputations rose one after another and made a few observations, and those who had brought presents for the Congress laid them on the table. In the afternoon the different sections met in the rooms assigned to them, and after the election of the President and Vice-President, papers were read and discussed. As I belonged to the Aryan Section I witnessed the proceedings of its meetings only. I will therefore confine myself to an account of them. Our President was Prof. Roth of Tübingen and Vice-President, Prof. Weber. Among the members who attended were Dr. Rost of the India Office; Professors Buhler of Vienna, Kielhorn of Göttingen, Ludwig of Prague, Jacobi of Kiel, Leumann of Strasburg, Kühn of Munich, Jolly of Wurzburg, and Windisch of Leipzig;

Drs. Hoernle of Calcutta, Cartellieri of Vienna, Macdonell of Oxford, and Stein of Buda-Pest; and Messrs. Bendall of the British Museum, Grierson, a Bengal Civilian, and McAuliffe, a Panjab Civilian, and Capt. Temple. Dr. Cust of the Royal Asiatic Society of London attended some of the meetings, and we had an American gentleman of the name of Leland, who has made the language of the Gipsies his special study. There were two French scholars of the names of Milloué and Guimet, and an Italian scholar named Lignana. There were other members whose names I do not remember. Our average attendance was about 45. Prof. Max Müller did not come on account of the unfortunate occurrence I have already mentioned, and the other scholars conspicuous by their absence to me, at least, were Professors Oldenberg of Vienna, Aufrecht of Bonn, Kern of Leyden, Eggeling of Edinburgh, and Dr. Böhtlingk of Jena. The Aryan section met also on the following days, the last sitting being held on Saturday. Englishmen and myself read papers in English, and the German scholars in German with the exception of Dr. Stein, the Hungarian, and Dr. Hoernle, who used English. One of the French scholars only read a paper, and this was in French; and the Italian read in the language of his country. These four languages only were recognised by the Congress. Mr. Bendall read a paper on the discovery in Nepal of a new alphabet with arrow-head characters. Specimens were exhibited on the occasion, but I felt convinced that the alphabet was only one of the many varieties of the Nāgarī, and what looked like arrow-heads were only the short horizontal strokes which occur at the top of each Nāgarī letter. They were thicker in this manuscript than usual and written in a manner to make one end narrower than the other. Mr. Grierson appeared before the section twice, to read a paper on some of the dialects of the Hindī, and at another time with observations on Tulasīdāsa and other Hindī poets. This gentleman has been doing very useful work by studying the peculiarities of the Hindī, as spoken in the provinces of Behar and Mithilā, and publishing grammars

of the dialects prevalent there. The Aryan section adopted a resolution recommending to the Government of India the institution of a regular survey of the spoken dialects of India. I read at the first day's meeting, extracts from my Report on the search for Manuscripts which is now in the Press, and placed before the section an old Palm-leaf Manuscript of a Jaina work, hitherto unknown that had been discovered in the course of the search now conducted by Dr. Peterson and myself, and which would have been placed before the section by Dr. Peterson himself if he had been present. This excited a good deal of curiosity, and one of the scholars gave it as his opinion that the work belonged to that branch of the Jaina sacred literature which is known by the name of Pūrvas, and which is by some believed to be more ancient than the other branches, without, in my opinion, sufficient reason. At another meeting, Prof. Roth made a few observations on the peculiarities of Vedic grammar, dwelling principally on the fact that when a noun and an adjective are used together, the case termination is often found affixed to one of them only, as in the instances परमे व्योमन्, महिना जनूंषि, &c. Prof. Jacobi read a paper in which he endeavoured to show that the Brahmanic hero-god, Kṛṣṇa, was admitted by the Jainas very early, more than a century before the beginning of the Christian era, into the list of their holy personages. Prof. Kuhn appeared with a paper on the dialects of Kaśmīr and the Hindu Kush. One of Dr. Bühler's pupils, a young man of the name of Dr. Cartellieri, showed, by comparing passages in Subandhu's Vāsavadatta with similar ones occurring in Bāṇa's Kādambarı, that Bāṇa adopted, in a good many cases, Subandhu's images, and often his very words and expressions, so that the doubts thrown on Subandhu's priority to Bāṇa were groundless. Dr. Hoernle read a paper on an old Manuscript of a work on Arithmetic found at Bakkhāli in the north of Panjab in a ruined enclosure. It is written in a character which is a variety of the Kaśmīr character known by the name of Śāradā; and Dr. Hoernle thought it was transcribed in the 8th or 9th century. The

character appeared to me not very different from, or very much more ancient than that in which Kaśmir manuscripts about 100 or 150 years old are written. Dr. Hoernle had read a paper on the same Manuscript about three years before at a meeting of of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Mr. Leland read a paper on the Gipsy language, in which he traced the origin of the Gipsies to India ; Captain Temple gave some account of the Dictionary of Hindustani Proverbs that he has been compiling ; the Italian scholar read a few remarks on the words Navagva and Daśagva occurring in the Ṛgveda ; and the French, an essay on the myth of Vṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṁkara of the Jainas. A few other papers were also read.

At one of its meetings, the Section adopted a resolution asking the Government of India to restore the appointment of epigraphical surveyor, as the arrangements proposed by Dr. Burgess for getting translations of inscriptions done by different scholars willing and qualified to do them, were considered unsatisfactory, and to re-appoint Mr. Fleet to it. I must here observe that I did not quite approve of such a personal question being brought before that learned body.

One thing in connection with the work of the Semitic section that came to my notice must here be mentioned. Prof. Karabacek read a report on the paleographical results, furnished by some of the papyri or documents written on pieces of the papyrus which were found in Egypt. These were purchased by the Archduke Rainer, who paid more than 25, 000 florins for them. I went to the place where they are kept and exhibited, and was told that some of them were more than two thousand years old. There is among them an original order issued by the Caliph Amru, which bears his own signature. The papyri were found rolled up, and it is a very difficult thing to unroll them in a manner not to break them into pieces. This however is done very carefully by Prof. Karabacek and his coadjutors ; and there is a large photographical apparatus in the building, by means of

which the papyri are photographed, and copies of the size of the original printed off from the negative in the colour of the original.

On Monday, or the first day, an evening party was given by the Minister of Public Instruction. Besides the members of the Congress there were other distinguished guests, among whom was the British Ambassador, Sir Augustus Paget. On Wednesday, a sumptuous entertainment was given in the afternoon by the Burgomaster in the large banqueting hall of the Rathhaus. The Rathhaus or Townhall is an extensive and noble building round which the learned guests were taken, previous to their being led into the banqueting hall. Refreshments were laid on the table, and the best available music provided for the occasion. In the evening of the same day, there was a reception at the residence of Archduke Rainer. There was an unlimited supply of the best Viennese sweetmeats, and tea, coffee, and ices. A good many persons, including myself, were introduced to the Archduke and the Duchess, who spoke a few words to them in German, French, or English. On Thursday, a grand dinner was given in the evening by the Committee of organization, and there were toasts and post-prandial speeches as usual. In the afternoon of Friday, the members of the Congress were taken in river-steamboats by the Danube canal and by a special train up a hill in the vicinity called Kahlenburg, the view from which is splendid. The whole city of Vienna lay at our feet at a short distance, and with hills on the sides, the scene was charming. We spent about an hour at the place and returned home a little after sunset.

Dr. Bühler had told me a day or two before the dinner on Thursday to compose a few verses in Sanskrit and sing them in reply to one of the toasts. I said I would rather sing them at a meeting of the Aryan section, where I should have a select audience that would understand me. Accordingly I composed eight verses[1] in different metres and sung them in the manner

1 Printed at the end of this article.

we usually do in India, at the final meeting of the Aryan section on Saturday morning. After that was over, I read some of the hymns in the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā in the manner in which they are recited by Vaidika Brahmans here, as some of the German scholars were anxious to hear how the accents are indicated in pronunciation.

The sight of so many men from different parts of Germany and Europe who had chosen a life of study and thought, and who applied themselves with such devotion and zeal to the study of the sacred language of my country and its varied literature, was very gratifying to me. The spirit that actuated them appeared to be that of the old Ṛṣis of India, who cared little for worldly possessions, and devoted themselves to a life of study and meditation. In the ancient times in India, whenever any grand sacrifice was performed by a great king, Brahmans from all parts of the country assembled at the place and held debates and discussed abstruse points. One such congress of Ṛṣis is reported in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad and the Vāyu-Purāṇa. Janaka, the king of Mithilā, performed a horse-sacrifice, and a great many learned Brahmans from the Kurupañcālas or the country about Thanesar, Mathura, Delhi, and Agra flocked to the place. Janaka wished to find out who among these was the most learned and knew the Brahma or the highest truth the best, and therefore brought forth a thousand cows and tied pieces of gold of the weight of ten tolas to the horns of each. Then he said to the Brahmans : "That one among you who knows the Brahma the best should take away these cows." None of the Brahmans dared to take them, when Yājñavalkya said to a pupil of his, "Young man, drive these cows home." The pupil began to do so, when all the other Brahmans got angry, saying, "What, does he think himself to be the one among us who knows the Brahma the best ?" Janaka had a priest of the name of Aśvala, who said to him : "Well, Yajña valkya, are you the one of us all who knows the Brahma the best." Yajñavalkya replied, "I am but an humble servant of

one who knows the Brahma the best ; I only want the cows. " Then the priest Aśvala put a question to Yājñavalkya, and he was followed by a great many others who put similar questions, requiring him to explain a large variety of points concerning the ritual, the gods, the soul, the supreme cause of the world and the soul of all, good deeds, bad deeds, &c. Among his interlocutors was a lady of the name of Gārgī Vācaknavī who, in her own words, " attacked him with two questions as a warrior of Kāśī or Videhas attacks an enemy with two arrows on his strung bow. " Yājñavalkya answered satisfactorily the questions of all. This is a celebrated chapter in that Upaniṣad, and is very important for the history of ancient Indian thought. The idea I endeavoured to bring out in the verses sung by me at the Congress was that this body of holy and learned Ṛṣis, adored by gods and men, that had assembled at Mithilā, the capital of the king of Videhas, on the occasion of the horse-sacrifice, had risen up again at Vienna, the capital of the Emperor of Austria, to dispel the darkness that had overspread the earth in this sinful age of Kali, out of pity for man. Aśvala, the priest of Janaka, had assumed the form of Buhler, Yājñavalkya appeared as Weber and Roth, and Śākala as Kielhorn. Kahoḍa manifested himself as Jolly ; and the remaining Ṛṣis as Ludwig, Rost, Jacobi, and the rest. There was a Viennese lady who attended the meetings of our section, and who takes very great interest in Indian literature and has read nearly all that has been written about it, as well as translations of Sanskrit works. She was our Gārgī Vācaknavī.

Such a compliment, I thought, these European scholars, and especially the Germans, deserved. Ever since the discovery of Sanskrit, the Europeans have devoted themselves with their usual energy to the study of the language and its literature, and to the solution of the various problems suggested by it. They have successfully treated the affinity of the Sanskrit with the ancient languages of Europe, classified the languages of the civilized world on a scientific principle, and the races that speak

them, shown that the Aryans of India, composed of the three castes, Brahman, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya, belong to the same race as the ancient Greeks and Romans and the nations of modern Europe, except the Turks, the Hungarians, and the Fins, penetrated into the secret of the formation of human speech and the growth of myths, and constituted the science of language and comparative mythology. They have collected manuscripts from all parts of India, and from Nepal, Ceylon, Burma, and Siam; and the Government of India has been assisting their efforts by instituting an archaological survey and search for Manuscripts. They have examined the Vedas carefully, and traced out a great many facts concerning the original history and condition of the Indian Aryans, and compiled dictionaries, concordances, and grammars. The Mahābharata, Ramayaṇa, some of the Purāṇas, and the law books, as well as the dramatical literature, have been subjected to a similar examination. Buddhism, the memory of which has faded away in India, has again been brought to our notice; and its sacred texts, Manuscripts of which are nowhere now found in India, have been rendered available to us.

In this work of study and research the Germans, of all the nations of Europe, have been the foremost. Most of the great achievements I have briefly indicated above are due to their patient industry and critical acumen. We have had one great French scholar, and there are now two or three. Englishmen first of all discovered Sanskrit, as was of course to be expected from the fact of India's having fallen into their hands, and we have had first-class English scholars, such as Colebrooke and Wilson. But somehow Sanskrit and philological studies have not found a congenial soil in the British isles. While there are at present twenty-five German scholars at least who have been working in the different branches of Sanskrit literature and have published something, we have not more than five among Englishmen. England employs Germans in connection with her philological work. The best Sanskrit scholar in the country is a German, and the Professor of Sanskrit at Edinburgh and the

Librarian of the India office are Germans. There is a German in charge of Manuscripts in the British Museum and the Assistant Librarian at the Bodleian is a Hungarian. The Germans are the Brahmans of Europe, the French the Kṣatriyas, and the English the Vaiśyas ; though, as was the case in India, the Brahmans of Europe have now taken to a military occupation. The great excellence of German scholarship consists in the spirit of criticism and comparison that is brought to bear on the facts that come under observation, and in the endeavour made to trace the gradual development of thought and language and to determine the chronological relations of events.

So much for the bright side of the picture. But it has also a dark side, to shut our eyes to which will do no good to the cause or to anybody. The proper and fruitful exercise of the critical and comparative, or what might be called the historical spirit, depends upon innate ability and a naturally sound judgment. These are not to be found everywhere, and often we meet with instances in which very comprehensive conclusions are based upon the most slender evidence. Though it is true that a native does not easily look at the language, thought, and institutions of his country from the critical standpoint, while the first impulse of an intelligent foreigner is to do so, still there are some disadvantages under which the foreigner must labour. He has no full and familiar knowledge of what he subjects to a critical examination. In the case of European Sanskrit scholars there is besides always a very strong disinclination to admit the high antiquity of any book, thought, or institution, and a tendency to trace Greek influence everywhere in our literature ; while not seldom the major premise in the reasoning is that the Indians cannot have any good in them, since several times in the course of their history, they allowed themselves to be conquered by foreigners. Oftentimes the belief that the Brahmans are a crafty race prevents a full perception of the truth. Of course, scholars of ability and sound judgment shake off such tendencies and prejudices ; and among these I may

mention, since I do not wish to make invidious comparisons between living scholars, Dr. Muir of Edinburgh and Prof. Goldstücker.

But independently of such defects in the exercise of the critical faculty, there are very important branches of Sanskrit literature which are not understood in Germany and Europe. I had a conversation with Dr. Kielhorn on this subject the day after I reached Vienna. I said it appeared to me that works in the narrative or Purāṇic style and the dramatic plays were alone properly understood in Europe, while those written in the style of discourse or works on philosophy and exegesis were not. He replied that even several of the dramatic plays and works on Poetics were not understood. Mistakes are constantly made when a scholar endeavours to interpret and criticise a work or passages in a work belonging to any of the Śāstras, as we call them ; and often the sense of passages containing idiomatic expressions in other works also is not perceived. A scholar reads such a work or interprets such expressions and passages with the aid of a grammar and a dictionary ; but a clear understanding of them requires an amount of previous knowledge which cannot be derived from either. As to positive command over Sanskrit, I had an illustration in the shape of a card which was given to me by a Professor at the Congress on which two verses in the easiest of Sanskrit metres, the Anuṣṭubh, composed by him, are printed. In three of the four lines the metre is violated, and there is a bad compound in the second verse. If the study of Greek was not successfully carried on in Western Europe before the fall of Constantinople drove many learned Greeks into that part of the continent, it is of course not reasonable to expect that Sanskrit literature should be properly understood in Europe without instruction from the old Pandits of India. This defect was first of all clearly perceived by those German scholars who spent a good many years in India ; and now it has been acknowledged by others also, though there are still some whose reliance on a grammar and a dictionary continues unbounded. And the

Germans have already begun to remedy the defect. Dr. Garbe was sent more than a year ago to this country at the expense of the Prussian Government to study Indian philosophy. He lived at Benares for a year and read one or two works with some of the Pandits there, and has recently returned to his country. Dr. Kielhorn has undertaken to publish an edition of the Kāśikā, an old commentary on Pāṇini's Sūtras, containing copious notes and explanations of a nature to enable the European scholar to understand the intricacies of the style of grammatical exegesis. And on the last day of my stay at Vienna, Dr. Bühler told me that he had on that day called on the Minister of Public Instruction to represent to him the necessity of having an Assistant Professorship of Sanskrit in connection with the University of Vienna. This he means for Dr. Hultzsch ; but his ultimate idea is that large Universities, such as those of Berlin and Vienna, should have an Assistant Professorship to be held by a Sanskrit Master of Arts of the Bombay University, and on Dr. Hultzsch being raised to the Professorship or provided for elsewhere, he will have an Indian in his place. This I believe is a good idea, in the interests of both European and Indian Sanskrit scholarship ; but the principle involved in it, viz., a close intercourse between the scholars of the two countries, deserves to be carried out in other ways. This also has not escaped the attention of Dr. Bühler; for though he is not now in his bodily form present in India, he carries on an active correspondence with many persons here, and has recently issued a prospectus about a Vienna Oriental Journal which will contain several articles in English intended to be read by us here. I have no doubt that such a close intercourse will be productive of benefit to us here. New ideas and views about matters in Sanskrit literary history are constantly started in Germany, and these will stimulate thought and inquiry among us, and we shall be able to make use of our knowledge either to confirm or refute them, and put forth new ideas and views of our own. It is very much to be wished that more of us devoted ourselves to learning and research. Every year our University turns out a good many Sanskrit scholars, and but few

have hitherto made scholarship the occupation or pleasure of there lives. But physical wants claim attention first, and unless somebody in his liberality makes provision for them, there is little hope that we shall have many scholars among us. The necessity of endowing Professorships for the advancement of learning and science among us was recently urged with characteristic ability on the attention of his audience by the Vice-Chancellor of the University and our President; and I gave expression in my humble way to the same idea in my first Wilson Lecture and in my evidence before the Education Commission; but there is no hope of Government being able to do anything in the matter in the present state of circumstances, while as regards ourselves there is little public spirit among us, and the liberality of Khojas, Parsis, and Hindus flows in other channels, and no one has the power of diverting it into this.

Another feeling which the sittings of the Congress evoked in me and to which I gave expression in my verses was that of admiration for the respect for human nature and brotherly sympathy for mankind which, I thought, were evinced by the interest which so many people took in the condition, the thought, and languages of the people of Asia, Africa and Polynesia, so inferior to Europeans in all that constitutes civilization. I also thought that international congresses such as this were calculated to promote good feeling between the different nations of Europe, so as to render war impossible in the course of time. And from what I saw during my hasty visit it appeared to me that Europe was approaching towards a realization of this ideal. There is hardly so much difference as regards external appearance and manners between the different nations of Europe as there is between the different races of India, though their languages are more widely different than those of Northern India. Their dress, their modes of eating, their social manners, and their institutions are a good deal more alike than ours. Any invention or discovery made in one country finds its way easily into another. The railway trains of one country run in continuation of those

of another, and the postal and telegraphic arrangements are such as one might expect only in a country under one and the same Government. Travellers are always going from one country to another, and everywhere there are hotels where their comfort and convenience are carefully attended to. So that, to an external observer, Europe appears in times of peace to be one country. And I saw a pantomimic show in one of the theatres in Vienna which intensified my general impression. At first girls in European costume appeared dancing on the stage. Then was shown the digging of the Suez Canal and the plying of steam-boats in it. This was followed by a representation of the cutting of the Mount Cenis tunnel; and afterwards appeared men and women in the costumes of all countries, with some in our Indian costume, and a number of negro boys. And they all danced together in joy, the negro boys beating time. This idea of a universal brotherhood was, I thought, the most precious product of European civilization, more valuable by far than railways and electric telegraphs. And it was in such a mood of thought that I opened my versified Sanskrit address with the words, " Supreme over all is that brotherly feeling for mankind which prompts the constant endeavours of these men to study the languages, the sciences, and arts of Eastern races so utterly different from themselves ; " and ended it by saying, " May Congresses such as this conduce to knit different countries together in friendship, to the cessation of war, and to the prosperity of mankind. "

I was however not free from disturbing thoughts. Though all this Oriental learning had probably its origin in a respect for human nature, still a mere love of reputation and a desire to conform with the fashion of the day are the motive causes in most individual cases. Though the whole external look of Europe makes for peace, still ever since the idea expressed in the lines

> Till the war-drum throbbed no longer and the battle-flags were furled
> In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.*

was distinctly formulated, there have been many wars in Europe, and many more times have the Europeans fought Asiatics and Africans and crushed them. And I remember that the advancement of oriental learning was looked forward to in some quarters as one of the happy results of one of these latter wars ; so that, love of oriental learning is not necessarily associated with good-will for the oriental races. A German Sanskrit Professor once said to me that he liked social equality being given to the natives of India, but not political equality, and that he considered the Ilbert Bill to be mischievous. I told him that in Ceylon and the presidency towns the native magistrates did actually exercise the power of trying European offenders. He did not know that, he said, but still proceeded to defend his position, and, bringing his oriental learning to his aid, observed, " Oh, Buddhism has softened the Ceylonese, so that they might exercise that power ; but the case is different in India. " I listened quietly, thanking my country's stars that she had not fallen into the hands of Germans. And two of the most civilized nations in Europe have for the last fifteen years been making preparations with their usual energy for a grand human sacrifice, in which the blood of about eight million human victims is to be poured on the altar of the goddess of nationality. Even the Oriental professors of those two nations are full of warlike sentiments ; and there is a firm determination to destroy the hated enemy or die. So that, the spirit of humanity, though evolved in the course of European history, has been entirely driven out of the field of action by the spirit of nationality. The very physical energy of the European races and the importance attached to mere material greatness are unfavourable to the further growth of that spirit. And in this matter at least the prophecy of the old Locksley Hall has not been fulfilled, and there is ground for the despon-

*Tennyson, Locksley Hall.

dency expressed in the new. After the Congress was over I stayed for a week more in Vienna, and saw the museums, the picture galleries, and other sights. I left the place on Sunday, the 10th of October, for Venice, where I spent three days.

I have already taken up so much of your time, that I have little left for conveying to you some of my general impressions. I will, however, do so hastily. Everywhere the energy of the European races and the orderly shape that they give to everything made a deep impression on my mind. On my way from Brindisi to Calais, I observed on the sides of the railway in Italy vines and trees planted in straight lines at equal distances, and in Southern France, happy-looking villages with nice roads laid out, and grass so well trimmed as to give the fields and even the slopes of hills a smooth appearance. Everywhere the hand of man was to be seen. In London I was impressed with the immense wealth of the people, and their devotion to business. In private dwellings and in shops all things are nicely arranged. The shops are generally in substantial buildings, and the shopkeeper is always seen standing or sitting on a high stool, ready to attend to his customers. The affairs of every large establishment where a number of men are employed are conducted with the regularity of a machine. Wherever I went I could not avoid making comparisons between what I saw and what exists in India. I felt that with our fields neglected except for getting a harvest or two, our things lying about in a disorderly condition in our houses and our shops, and our shops constructed of wooden planks and our shopkeepers often dozing in their seats, we are considerably inferior in point of energy to the European races, and especially to the English. When I saw the exhibition at Birmingham and observed how some improvement or other is always made in machines, implements, and arts, and how new arts and industries spring up, I could not avoid remarking to my kind friend Colonel Phelps, " Your intellects are always awake, ours are dormant. " Indian implements and arts are now in that condition in which they were in the time of Manu.

The English people possess a vast power of organization. Those of them who hold the same view on any matter easily combine together to advance that view, and thus form clubs and associations. I was struck when I heard that the National Liberal Club in London had 5, 000 members. In India hardly so many as five persons can be found to lay aside their jealousies and combine for the advancement of a cause. In every one of the towns I visited, there are one or more museums, and in most of them picture galleries. Both the Government and the people take pride in them and in other institutions of the kind, and are ready with their contributions of money for their improvement. We have no museum anywhere in India worthy of the name, and picture galleries are never dreamt of. I saw a splendid free library at Birmingham maintained by the Municipality, and in the Guildhall in London, and was told that all the municipalities in England had such free libraries. We never heard of anything of the kind in India. Even such a rich municipality as that of Bombay, with its surplus of five lacs, does not maintain an institution of the kind, and it is a matter of no little wonder that the idea should not have been put into the heads of the members of our Corporation by any European gentlemen or a native who has been to England. The means of communication throughout Europe are, as I have already stated, perfect, though the Customs Officers on the frontiers of a country give some trouble, and there are establishments in all places for the accommodation of travellers. Travelling, therefore, is so easy, that a timid Hindu like myself, who cannot speak French or German, could go from London to Vienna, and thence to Venice, alone, without the least difficulty. All that I saw in Europe deepened the impression that, as we are, we are an inferior race in point of energy. We are far behind Europe, and especially England, in all those matters that I have just noticed, and ours is what Principal Wordsworth calls a feeble civilization; though I believe the vigorous civilization of Europe is now on its trial, and the war between the French and the Germans which must come some

day, and the socialistic and nihilistic movements, if they make further progress, will determine whether it is not one-sided, and its ideals have not been chiefly, if not exclusively, material. And in this respect we should by no means be very anxious to realize it among ourselves.

One point more, and I have done. When I set my foot on the soil of Italy and saw the Italian Custom-house officers, policemen and others, exercising their authority, the thought entered my mind, " But a few years ago this country was cut up into a number of little states, most of them despotically governed, and now these people have become one nation and got representative institutions"; and I cast a wistful eye at their newly-acquired independence. While in London I once went to see the Tower with my friend Dr. Rhys Davids, and when I was shown the place where Anne Boleyn, Catherine Howard, and Lady Jane Grey were executed, and also the dungeon into which those persons who were obnoxious to the reigning prince or his courrier were cast quietly and in a manner unknown to anybody, I observed to my friend, " You are a wonderful people; three centuries ago you were governed by monarchs nearly as absolute and despotic as any that reigned in India, and you have now gradually worked out your freedom without shedding much blood; while we have not succeeded in emancipating ourselves during the last twenty-five centuries. " Notions such as these were present in my mind during the time I was in Europe; but after a while I asked myself, what it was that I wished ? Should I like that the English had never conquered the country? I at once said, " No. " For, as I had already observed to my friend we really were not free under the old native monarchs. Under them there was no possibility of our having any idea of that European civilization which I so much admire, there was hardly much security of life and property, and there was little possibility of a man travelling from one province to another without being looted. And we should in that case have had no post-office or roads or railways or electric telegraphs or printing presses; and

above all, that education which has now opened our eyes to our own defects, and given birth to new aspirations. And how was it possible that they should not subjugate the country when it was in the lowest state of political degradation, with selfishness reigning supreme, rival competitors for thrones or for power intriguing against each other and asking their aid, and the people at large maintaining their traditional indifference? Would I then wish that the English voluntarily retired from the country —for driving them away was out of the question—and left us to govern ourselves? Even here I had no hesitation in saying "No." If they should retire, we should immediately return to the old state of things. For though we talk about public spirit, public duty, nationality, and things of that sort, these ideas have not deeply sunk into our nature. Self-interest is as strong a motive with us as it ever was before. There is a lamentable want of serious thought amongst us. Childishness is rampant everywhere. We are divided into castes and communties that have not yet learnt to make common cause with each other. We still want that energy and those orderly modes of action, and that power of organization, which are necessary in order that we may progress in civilization; and we shall only lose the ground which we have gained under the British, and shall be unable to form a strong Government; and all the benefits of a higher civilization that we at present enjoy will be lost to us. I believe it to be an act of Divine Providence that the English alone of all the candidates who appeared about the same time for the empire of India should have succeeded. The Marathas, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French were all weighed in the balance and found wanting, and the empire was given to the English. For the Marathas possessed the usual vices of Indian rulers, the Portuguese were intolerant and forced their religion on the people, the Dutch have made the natives of the countries they conquered hewers of wood and drawers of water, and the French are volatile and have no settled principles. Of the other nations of Europe, the Germans and Austrians do not them-

selves enjoy that freedom that we do under the British, and Russia is the most despotic of all European States, and is perhaps as barbarous as ourselves without our mildness. But England is a nation that has worked out its freedom. She gave liberty to the Negro slaves at a vast sacrifice of money ; and it is the only country in Europe where the sentiment of humanity has made progress. It is impossible that such a country should treat us as slaves ; or, like the Dutch, reduce us to the condition of mere artisans and labourers. Reflections such as these quieted me, and I was content that the English should rule over us, notwithstanding that there are very few Sanskrit scholars among them. *In this frame of mind I got on board the steamer "Siam."* The next morning, a fellow-passenger of the name of Colonel Noble, Commissioner of Sahet Mahet in Oudh, came and sat near me. He asked me a variety of questions, one of which was, "How will you manage about caste after your return to your country." I said : "When I go back I shall live with my family as a Hindu that I am, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, and will not invite caste opposition. If, notwithstanding, I find myself in difficulties, these must be put up with ; for it is of the highest importance that we should visit Europe, if we would march on, side by side with our rulers, towards a higher goal." "That word 'rulers'," says Col. Noble, "that you have used, I do not like. For, it is the feeling of a great many Englishmen, that we are but your brothers to direct and guide you towards a brighter future." I was highly delighted, and thought that if all the statesmen and officers in whose hands the destinies of India were placed were actuated in all that they did by such a feeling as this, we should be the happiest people on earth ; we should forget that we were governed by foreigners, and look upon the British Government as our own national government. There were a good many other passengers on board who were very courteous and kind to me, and with whom I had pleasant conversations. Among them were Mr. Sheppard, Revenue Commissioner, Northern Division, and a good many other civilians

belonging to Bombay, Madras, and the North Western Provinces. The charge of *hauteur*, usually brought against Anglo-Indians, I found to be false on board the steamer. The Siam dragged its slow length along the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean, and at last we found ourselves in the harbour of Bombay. In the bustle and commotion which followed in consequence of everybody's desire to go on shore at once, I made my way to the place where Colonel Noble was, and took his leave with the words, "Your sentiments with regard to my people are, no less than your name, NOBLE," and came away.

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VERSES

DEDICATED TO

THE ARYAN SECTION

OF

THE VIENNA ORIENTAL CONGRESS.*

पौरस्त्यानां जनानां निरतिशयमपि स्यात्मतो भेदभाजां
भाषाविद्याकलानामधिगमविषये संततं सप्रयत्नाः ।
येनान्योन्यं समेताः समुचितवचनैर्बोधयन्त्येवमेते
सोयं सोदर्यभावो जगति विजयते मानुषत्वानुबन्धी ॥ १ ॥

नानादिग्देशसंस्थान्प्रथितबुधजनान्संगतान्वीनिपुर्या-
मास्त्रेयाख्यभूतोस्यां नृपमुकुटमणे राजधान्यां समीक्ष्य ।
वैदेहस्याश्वमेधे पुरवरमिथिलामाश्रितं पुण्यसंघं
ब्रह्मज्ञानामृषीणां सकलसुरनरैर्वन्दितानां स्मरामि ॥ २ ॥

अश्वलो भवति बूलररूपः
याज्ञवल्क्य इव वेबररोटौ ।
शाकलः किल भवेत्किलहार्नो
यः कहोड इति सात्र च योलिः ॥ ३ ॥

गार्गी वाचक्नवीवेन्डा पुरंध्री प्रतिभाति मे ।
ग्रन्थावलोकनं यस्या जीवस्यालम्बनं महत् ॥ ४ ॥

अन्यान्लुड्विगरोस्तयाकुविमुखान्मन्येत्र तांस्तानृषीन्
सर्वे तत्त्वरताः श्रुतिस्मृतिपरा ज्ञानैकबद्धस्पृहाः ।
शङ्के तिष्ययुगप्रभावजनितं गाढं तमः सर्वतो
दूरीकर्त्तुमुपस्थितः सकरुणः सोयं मुनीनां गणः ॥ ५ ॥

समतीत्य वराकोहं गिरिवनवार्धीन्सभामिमां प्राप्तः ।
प्रेम्णः पाशैर्बद्धा वयं च देशाश्च नो भवेयुरिति ॥ ६ ॥

आर्यावर्तनिवासिषु तद्विद्यादर्शितादरान्भवतः ।
सौहार्दं याचेहं विशुद्धरूपं तथा च मयि ॥ ७ ॥

राष्ट्राणां स्नेहभावाय विग्रहस्य शमाय च ॥
कल्पतामीदृशी संसन्मनुजानां च भूतये ॥ ८ ॥

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* See ante p. 345.

THE
CRITICAL, COMPARATIVE, AND HISTORICAL METHOD
OF
INQUIRY,

AS APPLIED TO SANSKRIT SCHOLARSHIP AND PHILOLOGY AND INDIAN ARCHEOLOGY,

[Being a lecture read at the Public Meeting held under the auspices of the Free Church College Literary Society of Bombay on the 31st of March, 1888, originally published by the Author at Bombay, 1888].

A critical inquirer is one who does not accept an account of an occurrence just as it is presented to him, whether orally or in writing. He subjects it to certain tests calculated to prove its truth or otherwise. He takes care, for instance, to ascertain whether the person giving the account was an eye-witness to the occurrence, and if so, whether he was an unprejudiced and at the same time an intelligent observer. If his information is based on other sources, the critic endeavours to ascertain the credibility or otherwise of those sources. When it is a thing or a verified occurrence that he has to deal with, he does not satisfy himself with that view of its nature and relations that appears plausible at first sight. He seeks for extraneous assistance to enable himself to arrive at a correct view. One of the most efficacious means employed by him is comparison of like things or occurrences. This comparison enables him to separate the accidents of the thing or occurrence from its essential nature, and sometimes to arrive at a law which includes the thing or occurrence as a particular case and explains it. Though comparison may thus be considered one of the means of a critical examination, still its own proper results are so important that it deserves to be considered an independent method of inquiry. The history of a thing, *i.e.* a comparison of the various forms it presents at different well-ascertained periods, is also of the

greatest use for the determination of its real nature. Often, when no written history is available, the inquirer determines the historical or chronological relations between the several forms of a thing by referring them to an obvious standard, and arrives at some important conclusions based on such relations. Thus for instance, the Greek *èsmeś* 'we are' is more ancient than the Sanskrit *smas*, for it retains the original *a* of the root *as* in the form of *e* which Sanskrit has lost; and the Sanskrit *santi* 'they are,' more ancient than the Greek '*ènti*' which has lost the whole root *as*. From an observation of many such forms the conclusion to be drawn is that Greek is not derived from Sanskrit, nor Sanskrit from Greek, but both from an older form of speech. The comparative and historical methods correspond to the inductive method used in the physical and experimental sciences. In those branches of knowledge in which you cannot from the nature of the case make experiments, you have recourse to comparison and historical observation. The inductive method began to be used in Europe about the end of the sixteenth century, and since that time very great progress has been made in the discovery of the laws of the physical world. The critical, comparative, and historical methods began to be well understood and employed about the end of the eighteenth century, and within a hundred years since that time, an equally amazing progress has been made in other departments of knowledge; and geology, paleontology, comparative philology or the science of language, comparative mythology, evolution and the origin of species, scientific history, comparative jurisprudence, archeology, sound scholarship, and even comparative religion are the grand results. Before the employment of the inductive and experimental method such theories as that nature abhors a vacuum passed current; and before the application of the comparative and historical method the beliefs that the world was created in six days and that the Hebrew was the primitive language of which all the rest were offshoots were equally prevalent. But just as an experiment with a tube longer than thirty-

three feet, in the case of water, was enough to explode that theory, so did the observation and comparison of the different strata of which the earth is composed and the discovery of Sanskrit and its comparison with Greek, Latin, and other languages dispel those beliefs. And this critical and comparative method is necessary not only for increasing our knowledge of the world and of historical man, but also for arriving at correct views of things in ordinary practical life. I must use criticism and comparison if I wish to have a true knowledge of the character of any man, public or private, or to understand any individual action of his correctly. Criticism and comparison are necessary for the politician, the legislator, the lawyer, the merchant, and, last but not least, the newspaper writer if he is to rise above the level of scurrilous journalism.

Criticism and comparison are of use not only in enabling us to arrive at a knowledge of what is true, but also of what is good and rational. A man born in a certain country with certain social and religious customs and institutions, and in a certain range of ideas, thinks those customs, institutions, and that range of ideas to be perfectly good and rational, and sees nothing objectionable in them, unless he is a man of genius. When, however, he comes to know of other customs, other institutions, and other ideas, and compares them with those to which he has become accustomed, he is able to find out any evil that there may be in the latter, and to see what is better and more rational. The comparison of the jurisprudence of different countries is calculated to afford valuable hints to the legislator for the improvement of the laws of his own country. Similarly, the critical observation and comparison of the social institutions of other countries and even of other religions will afford guidance to the social and religious reformer. Critical comparison is also of use in giving us juster notions of the beautiful. These general observations, applicable as they are to all the branches of knowledge I have indicated, I will expand and illustrate by taking instances from those subjects to which I have devoted some

attention, *viz*. Sanskrit scholarship and philology, and Indian archeology.

Before admitting the narrative contained in an ancient work to be historical, one ought to ask oneself whether the object of the author was to please and instruct the reader and excite the feeling of wonder, or to record events as they occurred. If the former, the narrative cannot be accepted as historical, but legendary. Our obvious and almost axiomatic notions of ordinary probability should also be brought to bear on the question. If a king, for instance, in such a narrative is represented to have reigned a thousand, or even two or three hundred years, one ought to understand that the author wants to excite the feeling of wonder and admiration in his reader, and was in all likelihood under the influence of that feeling himself. If we apply these tests to our existing Sanskrit literature, we must declare the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas to be not historical works. Of course, it is possible that they may have a historical basis, and some of the persons mentioned in them may have really existed; but we cannot assert that they did exist, without corroborative evidence such as is to be derived from contemporary inscriptions and the historical writings of foreigners. Now, if the object of the author be the latter, and the narrative answers to our tests of ordinary probability, the work must be accepted as historical. But we have very few such works in Sanskrit literature now extant. Probably, there were many more, but they are lost to us. The Vikramāṅkacarita, the Harṣacarita, the Gauḍavadha, and the Rājataraṅgiṇī are works of this nature. I will also include deeds of grants inscribed on metallic plates, stone-inscriptions, and coins among the historical documents now available to us. It appears to have been the custom in ancient times, as it is even now, to preserve genealogies of royal families. We find some given in the Purāṇas. These have a historical value as they are confirmed by inscriptions. But as the readings have in the course of time become corrupt, and the genealogies of different royal families seem to have been confused together,

they are not to be relied on implicitly, without check and comparison. Now as to the contemporary caritras or the deeds of kings spoken of above, it ought to be remembered that the writers, being dependents or servants of the princes whose account is given therein, cannot be expected to be impartial historians of their patrons and masters; and must be regarded as open to the temptation of bestowing extravagant praise on them and their ancestors. Accordingly, the virtues that they ascribe to the princes in the most general terms cannot safely be accepted as historically true; but the specific statements such as those of their being at war with certain other princes or of their having constructed certain public works must be; and if corroborative evidence becomes available, we find them confirmed. Thus, all the copperplate grants of the successors of Pulakeśi II of the Cālukya dynasty of Mahārāṣtra, who ascended the throne in the year 610 A. C., speak of his having defeated or remained unsubdued by Harṣavardhana, the sovereign lord of the whole of Uttarāpatha or Northern India, and obtained in consequence the title of Parameśvara or sovereign lord. This is confirmed by what the Chinese pilgrim Hwhan Thsang, who travelled in India from 629 A. C. to 645 A. C., tells us about the prince. Śilāditya, as Harṣavardhana is also named by him, invited the ablest generals, and sending a large army under them, and on one occasion taking the command himself, fought with the people of Mahārāṣtra who were at that time ruled over by Pulakeśi, but he was not able to conquer them. Now, the point to be considered with reference to such a book as the Rājataraṅgiṇī is that though the author is to be considered a contemporary historian so far as the period in which he lived is concerned, what were his authorities for the history of previous times? He does mention previous writers and speak of having consulted eight historical works. But he begins his history with Gonarda I, who was the contemporary of Yudhiṣṭhira, and gives three names after him. The next 35 princes are, he says, unknown by name; and then mentions 13 more. This is the period for which, he says, he did not find

full authorities, and mentions the books from which he got the 17 names given by him. The next period begins in 1184 B. C., when a prince of the name of Gonarda III ascended the throne. The history is then carried on by Kalhaṇa without a break up to his own times. One of the princes, however, is represented by him to have reigned for 300 years; and the average duration of the reigns of the princes in the different groups is sometimes 48 years, sometimes 38. When it is remembered that this varies from 18 to 22 only, the chronology of Kalhaṇa in the older portion of his history must be considered as not reliable. Though it appears very probable that he himself did not put on paper anything for which he found no authority, the works he consulted cannot be considered to be quite reliable themselves. And looking generally to the manner in which the text of old works gets corrupt in the course of time, this is perfectly intelligible. Still, since Kalhaṇa mentions his having used inscriptions, and edicts or proclamations of kings, and states with what public works in Kaśmir the names of some of the princes are connected and makes specific statements about them of another nature, the narrative portion of his history should, I think, be considered generally reliable, and also the chronology of the period nearer to his own time. But the older chronology and even to a smaller extent the latter require rectification, as we have seen from the internal evidence; and there is ample external evidence also. For Kalhaṇa mentions three Turuṣka or Scythian kings who reigned before his historical period, *i. e.* before 1184 B. C. and whose names he gives as Huṣka, Juṣka, and Kaniṣka. There are coins of all these kings, and inscriptions also, from which it appears that the last was the founder of the dynasty. Kalhaṇa mentions Buddhism as flourishing in Kaśmīr during the reigns of these monarchs, and represents them to have constructed monasteries in a country in the vicinity which appears to me to be Afghanistan. Now here, Buddhistic records and traditions, which represent Kaniṣka as a great patron of the religion, confirm Kalhaṇa's account. But his chronology is entirely wrong.

For, from the evidence of the inscriptions, coins, and Buddhistic traditions, Kaniṣka has been placed about the end of the first century of the Christian era; and I have found reason to refer him to the middle of the second. Similarly, a comparison with Chinese chronology, which is believed to be very accurate, has led to a correction in the date of a later prince named Lalitāditya, who conquered Yaśovarman, the sovereign of Kanoj and the patron of Bhavabhūti and Vākpatirāja, the author of the Gauḍavadha, and who, according to Kalhaṇa's chronology, reigned from 695 to 732 A. C. The Chinese account represents his brother who was king before him to have sent an embassy to China in 713 A. C.; while according to Kalhaṇa that brother died in 691 A. C. But even supposing that the Chinese account is not correct, Prof. Jacobi has recently calculated the date of an annular eclipse of the sun which is represented in the Gauḍavadha to have occurred about the time Yaśovarman's position in his kingdom was shaken, apparently by a foreign invader whom that scholar understands to be Lalitāditya. The eclipse occurred on the 14th of August 733 A. C. and reached its middle at Kanoj at 40 minutes after 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Now, if the danger to Yaśovarman's position that is spoken of was really that caused by Lalitāditya, which appears indeed very likely, Lalitāditya must have been living and in the height of his glory in 733 A. C., while the Rājataraṅgiṇī represents him to have died in 732 A. C.

Here I have given you a specimen of the sort of criticism to which books or documents of a professedly historical character ought to be subjected. As to the other class of works—the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and all poems, plays, and religious books such as the Vedas,—though the narrative therein contained is not historical, still they are of great historical value in so far as they place before us the thoughts and feelings, the aims and aspirations, and the manners and customs of the people at or, possibly in some cases, before the time when they were written, and thus present to us a picture of the life and civilization of the

period. If, for instance, woven or sewn garments, ships, chariots, and weapons of war such as a sword and an axe, are incidentally mentioned in the Ṛgveda, it must be inferred that these were used at the time when the hymns, in which they are mentioned, were composed, and the arts of manufacturing them were known and practised. If the Atharvaveda tells us that "when a woman has had one husband before, and gets another, they shall not be separated if they offer the *ajapañcaudana* offering," we may safely infer that the practice of widow-marriages existed in those days. We may arrive at the same conclusion, and also infer the existence of polygamy in some cases at least and the absence of polyandry from the words of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa that " one [man] may have many wives ; but one [woman] cannot have many husbands *simultaneously*." When we find that the Mantras or formulas contained in the Ṛgveda which the bridegroom addresses to the bride on the occasion of marriage contain allusions to the indissoluble character of the union into which they have entered and to their bringing up a family of children, it must be supposed that when these Mantras or formulas were composed, the two parties to the marriage were not children but capable of understanding and appreciating the sense of what one says to the other. When in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata Kṣatriya girls are represented as calling a meeting of their possible lovers and choosing that one from among them that they liked, the custom must be considered as existing at or before the time when they were written. In Bāṇa's Kādambarī the Queen Vilāsavatī is spoken of as going to the temple of Mahākāla and hearing the Mahābhārata read. This shows that our present custom of reading that work and others of the kind in temples for the edification of visitors existed in the middle of the seventh century after Christ, when Bāṇa wrote ; and his mentioning the Bhagavadgītā as a part of the Mahābhārata shows that the work is older than the seventh century and formed an episode of the epic then as it does now. From the fact that Rāma, the hero of that very

popular epic the Rāmāyaṇa, is represented as a rigid adherent of truth, regardless of the worldly sacrifices that such a course entails, as unswerving in his attachment and fidelity to his one wife, and as possessed of such equanimity and firmness of character that "when he was invited to his father's palace to be installed as Crown Prince, but was instead sent to live in a forest, divested of all worldly greatness and enjoyments, there was not the slightest change observable in his countenance," the conclusion is legitimate that the higher Hindu mind loved and admired these virtues. A wife's faithful devotion to her husband and her following him cheerfully through dire vicissitudes of fortune, with her love and respect for him unabated, were equally objects of admiration with Hindus, as is shown by the characters of Sitā, Damayantī and Tārā.

Perhaps the distinction between the ways in which the two classes of works are used for historical puroses, will be best illustrated by a specimen of the mistakes which writers in the vernacular papers make on the point. One such writer, waxing warm in the course of a dissertation against the Poona High School for Girls said, "What, had we not learned women in ancient times such as Gārgī, Sitā, and Tārā? But did they attend a High School? What then is the necessity of a High School in these days?" And on another occasion in that same paper, another or the same writer in giving advice to the women of these days said something to this effect, "You are ambitious of rivalling Gārgī, Sītā, and Tarā; but you should attend to your domestic duties first." I do not remember the exact words now, but this is certain that the writer made no distinction between Gārgī, and Sītā or Tārā as historical personages. Sītā and Tārā occur in poetical or legendary works; and though they may have existed, we have no grounds for believing that they did. They are not represented as possessed of learning, though they were educated women; but supposing they were, all that it would prove is that in those times it was possible for women to become learned, and that some did become so. But the existence of Gārgī

as a historical personage, as a woman of learning, and as a Vedic teacher, is not a matter of reasonable doubt. For a Ṛgvedin Brahman has, as a portion of his daily religious exercises, to recite portions of the Vedas and other sacred treatises, and pour water in the name of and, technically, for the satisfaction of three classes of beings, *viz*. deities, Ṛṣis, and Ācāryas. This is prescribed in the Gṛhya Sūtra of Āśvalāyana, and the names are given there. The Ṛṣis mentioned are the composers of the Ṛgveda hymns, — Gṛtsamada, Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha &c.; and since these hymns exist, their authors also must have existed. The Ācāryas are the Vedic teachers, or writers as we should call them in these days, and in the list there are the names of authors of works called Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, some of which have come down to our times. Thus, Śakalya whose name occurs in the list was the author of the existing Pada text of the Ṛgveda; Piṅgale wrote a treatise on the sacrificial rites which is mentioned by the grammarians; Āśvalāyana did the same and his work is now extant; Aitareya and Sāṁkhyāyana were the authors of Brāhmaṇas which are extent; Śaunaka wrote the Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya; and Bāṣkala and Śākala were the names of teachers of two different recensions of the Ṛgveda. All these being historical personages, the three women, Gārgi Vācaknavī, Sulabhā Maitreyī, and Vaḍavā Prātitheyī, whose names occur in that same list of Ācāryas or teachers, must be so likewise, though their works have not come down to us.

Since then it is from our ancient literature that we have to find out the history of our people, it becomes a thing of the greatest importance to determine the form in which the works we are concerned with, were written by their authors. The readings of passages are not the same in different manuscripts of the same work. A variety of this nature we find to a pretty large extent even in ordinary works such as the poems and dramatic plays. Sometimes, numbers of the whole stanzas are to be found in certain manuscripts and not in others, as in the case of Kālidāsa's Śākuntala. But in the Rāmāyaṇa and the

Mahābhārata, the two most important works of the non-Vedic period, the differences are bewildering. No two manuscripts from different parts of the country agree. Often there are, in some, whole chapters which are omitted in others. Sometimes new stories or legends are found. It is, therefore, the duty of the critical scholar to collect Manuscripts from different parts of the country and collate them, with a view to arrive at a correct text. In the performance of this task, which often is very laborious, he ought to be guided by definite principles. He should, in choosing or rejecting a certain reading or a certain passage, see whether it gives good sense, whether it agrees with the context, whether it is in keeping with the author's general way of thinking, whether it is found in the oldest manuscripts, whether the idea or mode of expression was current in the author's time, whether it involves redundance or tautology, and so on. In some parts of India such as Bengal, people have been in the habit of taking very great liberties with the text of their author; and in Southern India they have been as a general rule very conservative. This fact I would take into account in determining the correct text of a work. When, however, the differences are very great, the best way is to treat the texts found in different provinces as independent editions or recensions. And this is what the old Indian Vedic scholars did. In the Vedic texts also different readings sprang up in the course of time; and one active cause of this was the fact that they were handed down orally. But when scholars like Śākalya, Śaunaka, Kātyāyana, and others arose and gave a definite form to the Vedic literature, they took into account these differences and established separate recensions or editions of the texts, known to us now by the name of Śākhās, which represent the forms of the text taught in different schools, such as those of Śākala, Bāṣkala, the Taittirīyas, the Maitrāyaṇīyas, the Kāṇvas, the Mādhyandinas &c. It is the business of a scholar of the present day to compare these several texts, as well as the several recensions of later works, determine the circumstances under which they arose and their mutual rela-

tions, literary as well as chronological, and find out which of them have a greater claim to be considered genuine and original.

Now as to the mode of interpretation of the texts so settled. The first rule is that a word as occurring in a book must be interpreted in the sense which usage has given to it. Etymology may serve as a guide; but it ought never to be set above usage. Consequently, no word should be understood in an etymological sense only. Oftentimes it is difficult to find the correct etymology, and a man has recourse to one that is fanciful. An interpretation of a book based on such fanciful etymologies must be incorrect. Then again, the literature of a country is divisible into periods, and the usage of one period differs from that of another. A word, therefore, occurring in a certain book, should be understood in the sense which it has in the usage of the period in which the book was written. A better way still is to interpret it in the sense in which the author himself uses it in other parts of his work. Our oldest literary period is that of the Vedas, and this again is clearly divisible into the period of the hymns and the period of the Brāhmaṇas. The language of the hymns is archaic and very different from the later Sanskrit; that of the Brāhmaṇas is much nearer to the classical Sanskrit. The hymns contain a great many words which do not occur in later Sanskrit, and there are also a good many which have a different sense there from that which they have in the latter. Under these circumstances, the only proper way to understand the hymns is to bring together and compare the passages in which the same word occurs, taking etymology as a guide only where necessary. In the same manner, the ideas and modes of thinking which from our acquaintance with the period we have seen to be prevalent should be referred to for help in interpreting a passage. If, instead of resorting to these methods, we take an isolated passage and interpret it according to modern usage, modern ideas, and fanciful or even true etymology, we may make it mean anything; and we shall thus find in the Vedas not only pure theism,

but even railways and electric telegraphs. These observations are also applicable to works belonging to other periods.

Having disposed of books and other written documents, I will now endeavour to estimate the value of traditions. If we accept traditions as we find them, we shall often be deceived. There is a tradition among us, for instance, that Bhavabhūti and Kālidāsa were contemporaries; but we have now found that Bhavabhūti lived in the first quarter of the eighth century of the Christian Era, and Kālidāsa long before 634 A. C., since he is mentioned as a famous poet in an inscription bearing that date and also by Bāṇa who lived in the middle of the seventh century. Bhavabhūti, it has recently been discovered, was a pupil of Kumārilabhaṭṭa ; and Kumārilabhaṭṭa quotes from Kālidāsa's Śākuntala. Similarly, the authors, Dhanvantarin, Kṣapaṇaka, Amarasiṁha, Kālidāsa, Varāhamihira, Vararuci, and others who formed the tarditional nine gems, are said to have lived at the court of Vikramāditya the founder of the Saṁvat Era, the initial date of which is 57 B. C. But Varāhamihira, as stated by Āmarāja in his commentary on Brahmaguptā's Khaṇḍakhādya, died in Śaka 509 or 587 A. C.; and the epoch year of his Pañcasiddhāntikā is 427 Śaka cotresponding to 505 A. C. ; and the existence of Vikaramāditya in 57 B.C. has not yet been traced. Alberuni, who accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni in his invasion of Gujarāt in the early part of the eleventh century, reports a tradition that the Gupta era dates from the extermination of the Gupta dynasty. But princes of the Gupta dynasty date their inscriptions in their era, which therefore, was in use before their extermination. Tradition makes Pāṇini a contemporary of Kātyāyana, and represents him as having been a blockhead who by austerities pleased Śiva and obtained a new grammar from him. Kātyāyana held a disputation with him for eighty days and, though Pāṇini paoved a powerful antagonist, he was ultimately vanquished. The fact, however, as we know it, is that Kātyāyana is the writer of Vārtikas or comments on Pāṇini's grammar, in which he explains, rectifies, and supplements Pāṇini's rules. It was in consequence of his

having thus rectified and supplemented Pāṇini that the story of his having vanquished him must have arisen,—and traditions often have a basis of this nature and no better—but it is impossible that he should have written those comments, a good many of which are explanatory on the work of a contemporary. Besides, from a comparison of the works of the two, it appears that the Sanskrit langnage was in a somewhat more archaic condition in the time of Pāṇini. Hence, therefore, the tradition cannot be true; and there are also inherent improbabilities in it. Sometimes the tradition of one sect contradicts that of another. The Śvetāmbara Jainas, for instance, claim to represent the original Jainism and speak of the Digambara sect as having been founded by one Śivahūti in 83 A. C.; and give childish explanations of the origin of the two peculiar doctrines of that sect, *viz.* nudity and denial of absolution to women. The Digambaras, on the other hand, represent themselves to be the original Jainas, and state that a sect of the name of Ardhaphālaka separated from them about 272 B. C., and out of that arose after a long time the Śvetāmbara sect. Still, however, traditions are not to be entirely rejected. An endeavour should be made to ascertain their antiquity, as their credibility must be considered to be proportionate to it; and if they are in themselves probable and stand all critical tests, they may be provisionally accepted. Thus, the tradition about the nine gems has been traced up to the year 1,005 Saṁvat or 948 A. D. In an inscription bearing that date, found at Buddha Gayā, it is stated that Vikramāditya was a renowned monarch in whose court there were nine learned men celebrated under the epithet of the Nava-ratnāni or nine jewels of whom Amaradeva was one. That portion of the tradition which refers to Vikramāditya's being a great patron of learning ascends still higher into antiquity. In the introduction to Vāsavadattā, a work mentioned by Bāṇa in his Harshacarita and consequently written before the middle of the seventh century, its author Subandhu, who also is mentioned by name as a previous poet in the Gauḍavadha by Vākpatirāja,—who lived in

the middle of the eighth century,—speaks regretfully of the sweet or tasteful poesy of the time of Vikramāditya, having, when he lived, dried up like the waters of a lake which once was full. And the manner of his regret, looks like that of one whe lived near to the times of Vikramāditya. But nothing has yet been found to confirm the date; and it occurs only in the Jyotirvidābharaṇa, the author of which pretends to be the great Kālidāsa, but which has been satisfactorlly proved to be but a recent forgery by all scholars who have noticed it. Since the tradition is thus confirmed, it may be accepted as correct; but the date of the nine jewels and of their patron Vikramāditya should be taken to be that which we have got for Varāhamihira on unimpeachable evidence. And a great king of the name of Harṣa Vikramāditya is mentioned by Kalhaṇa in the Rājataraṅgiṇī as a paramount sovereign ruling at Ujjayinī. He drove away Śakas and all Mlecchas from the country, and was a great patron of learning. According to Kalhaṇa's chronology which in this palce is, as I have already observed, very faulty, this Vikramāditya lived in the first half of the second century of the Christian era. But description of the king suits so well the patron of the nine gems, that we may correct the date assigned by Kalhaṇa in the light of that of Varāhamihira, and suppose Harṣa Vikramāditya to have reigned at Ujjayinī in the middle of the sixth century and patronized Kālidāsa, Amarasiṁha, Varāhamihira, and the rest. And nothing that has yet been discovered goes against the contemporaneity of those three; so that the tradition, when corrected as regards the date of Vikramāditya, agrees with everything that is known and seems highly probable. It may incidentally be observed here that Subandhu appears thus to have lived after Vikramāditya and before Bāṇa, that is between 550 and 650 A. C. And this is in keeping with his regretful mode of expression noticed above; and both together lend strong support to another tradition that he was the son of a sister of Vararuci, one of the nine gems of Vikramāditya's Court. But the chief use of a tradition is to confirm, corroborate, and strengthen other evidence; and it should

not be put in the place of such evidence. This will be illustrated further on.

I will now proceed to give instances of our method from philology and point out the errors due to superficial analogies. People seem to think that mere external similarity between a word in one language and another in another language is enough to enable us to decide that the two are one and the same word. Thus I have heard the word *Dutch*, (Germ.) *Deutsch*, traced to the Sanskrit word *Daitya*, which means 'a demon' or 'an enemy of the gods', *Taittiriya* identified with *Tartar*, *Caspian* with *Kaśyapa*, and *Chitpavan* or *Chipte* with *Copt* or *Gypt*. It is melancholy to see such etymologies and a great many others of the same nature put forth without the slightest evidence, and against all the rules of philological comparison. Now there are languages which bear a close affinity to caeh other, and there are others which do not. Words in a language belonging to the former group observe certain laws in assuming the forms which they possess in another belonging to the same group. Thus the High German in which we have the word *Deut*, *sch* being an adjectival termination, is related to Sanskrit. But Sanskrit consonantal sounds assume certain forms in German. And there is a law with reference to that point known by the name of Grimm's law. The German *d* corresponds to *th* in the Gothic, with which also low German or Anglo-saxon, *i. e.*, the modern English agrees, and to *t* in Sanskrit. Thus German *drei* is English *three*, and Sanskrit त्रि ; Germ. *dass*, Eng. *that*, Skr. तद् ; Germ. *du*, Eng. *thou*, Skr. त्व in त्वम् ; Germ. *durch*, Eng. *through*, Skr. तिरस् ; Germ. *durst*, Eng. *thirst*, Skr. तृष्, *i. e.*, तर्ष &c. Similarly, Germ. *t* is Eng. *d*. and Skr. ध ; as in the instances, Germ. *mit*, old H. G. *mitte*, Eng. *mid*, A. S. *midde*, Skr. मध्य ; Germ. *tag*. Eng. *day*, Skr. some such word as धह्. You will thus see that there is a law which determines the forms that Sanskrit words should assume in German, and that law ought to give to *daitya* some such from as *teudh* ; so that we should not allow ourselves to be deceived by the mere similarity of *daitya* and *deut*. Besides, from all the

observation that the great founders of comparative philology have made, they have come to the conclusion that the affinity between the Sanskrit and the European languages dates from prehistoric times, *i. e.*, is due to the fact that the ancestors of us all spoke one and the same language before they separated and formed distinct nationalities. This was long before the time when the Vedas were composed. Now the word *daitya* does not occur in the Vedas and was formed later. How could such a word be found in the German, not having existed in the Sanskrit itself a long time after the Aryan-separation ? There are, indeed, instances in historical times of independent Aryan communities having again been brought into connection with each other and exchanged a few later words. Thus our astronomical works, and especially those of Varâhamihira, contain several Greek terms, as will be hereafter noticed. If we suppose the word *daitya* to have been communicated to the Germans by us in historic times, is there any record anywhere of our having gone into the forests of Germany and established a kingdom there, as we have of the Bactrian Greeks having established one in the Panjab ? And are there more such instances ? None has been pointed out. The other etymologies must also bo similarly condemned. Are we to suppose that the students of the Taittirîya recension of the Yajurveda came from Tartary, and our Chitpāvan Brahmans from Egypt, and that these foreigners were admitted into our exclusive Hindu community and assigned the highest place ? Is there a tittle of evidence to show that ? The Jews came to our country in very early times, and the Parsis later ; but have they become incorporated with our community, taken our Gotras, and become students of our Vedas ?

There are many instances of false and unscientific Marathi etymologies in our books. Unless you resort to comparison and historic observation and discover laws which explain the particular case before you, your etymology must be empiric. Thus our ordinary root बस 'to sit' has been traced to Skr. वस् 'to dwell'. Of course ब and व constantly interchange places in our languages

and there is no difficulty on that point. The sense, however, of वस् is not appropriate ; but even that is no great objection. Still, if we have recourse to observation and comparison, we shall find that this etymology is wrong. बस has another form बैस, and since the tendency of languages is always to drop an element and not add, बैस is an older form of the root ; and that it is a form of that same root and not an independent root is shown by such contractions as म्हस 'a she-buffalo' for म्हैस, जसा 'as' for जैसा, तसा 'so' for तैसा &c. Again, the analogy of the cognate languages also shows that बैस is the real form of the root; for the Gujarati has बेस, and the Hindi बँस, though बैठ is more common. Now Marathi, Hindi and Gujarati have descended from the old Prakrits; and ऐ in the first two and ए in the last is a combination of the vowels अ and इ, brought together by the dropping away of uninitial consonants, which forms a characteristic of the Prakrits, as will be seen from the following instances :—

Skr. खदिर 'a certain tree', Pr. खइर [1] M. H. P. खैर G. खेर.
— बलीवर्द 'a bullock', — बइल्ल — — — बैल — बेल.
— तादृश 'like that', — तादिस, Ap.तइस — — — तैसा —
— माहिषी 'a she-buffalo', — माहिसी M. म्हैस,H.P.भैंस — भेंस.
— भगिनी 'a sister', — भइणी, M. *dial.* भैण, H. बैन — बेन.

So that बैस or वेस must be वइस in Prakrit or बइस, since ब and व are always interchangeable. Now, we know that Skr. उपविश which means 'to sit' appears in the Prakrit in the form of उवइस, प being changed to व as a general rule of which there are many instances, and श being dropped as in कइ for कवि, रइ for रवि &c. Then the initial vowel उ is dropped since it is unaccented, as it is in the following cases :—

Skr. अभ्यन्तर 'inside', H. भीतर, M. भितर
— अरघट्ट 'a water-wheel', H. रहट, M. रहाट

1 Here and in the following pages M. = Marathi, H. = Hindi, Ap. = Apabhraṁśa, G. = Gujarati, P. = Panjabi, S. = Sindhi, B. = Bengali, and O. = Oriya.

Skr. अभ्यञ्जन 'to be soaked', H. भीजना, M. भिजणें, G. भिजवुं
— एकस्थं 'collected', H. कट्ठा
— उपाध्याय 'a teacher, 'a priest', M. पाध्या, P. पाधे
— उपरि 'above', M. वर

Here then, there is an analogy at every step, and the M. बस is thus derived from the Skr. उपविश.

Another instance of the necessity of a close observation and comparison of facts is afforded by the derivation of masculine nouns ending in आ in Marathi and Hindi. It is supposed that the आ of these is a remnant of the ओ of masculine nouns in Prakrit, such as हत्थो, गुणो &c. But the question is, by what rules of transformation does ओ become आ, and why is it that a great many nouns such as हात 'hand', पाय 'feet,' कान 'ear', and others are without it? Besides, in such a language as the Sindhi, those nouns which end in अ in Hindi and Marathi end in short उ, while those ending in आ have ओ for their final; as हथु, कनु for हाथ, कान &c. and घोड़ो 'a horse,' for घोड़ा, मंजो 'a bed-stead' for माचा, मथो 'head', 'top' for माथा &c. The correct way of finding the origin of these forms in आ appears to me to be the following :-

In modern vernacular pronunciation there is a law of accentuation which has produced important results. The penultimate syllable of a word is in all our dialects pronounced with a stress the tendency of which is to lengthen that syllable and drop the final vowel, and in most of them this tendency has worked itself out. The preceding vowel, however, is not always written long, but still the long or at least the emphasized pronunciation does exist. Thus गुण 'virtue' is pronounced by us as गूण् in M., गून् in H., फुल 'a flower' as फूल्, बल, 'strength' as बल् (baal), मदन 'god of love' as मदंन् (madaan), &c. In these instances, though we write the penultimate vowel short, it is really long. The final इ or उ of Sanskrit words recently imported into the languages have been dropped in virtue of this law of accentuation. Thus :—

M, H. G. पद्धत 'method', 'mode', Skr. पद्धति.

M. H. G. P. गत 'condition', Skr. गति.

M. G. विपत, H. P. 'विपत', 'misery', Skr. विपत्ति.

M. H. P. G. B. रीत 'manner', Skr. रीति.

M. H. G. P. B. जात, 'species', 'caste', Skr. जाति.

M. H. कीर्त, H. G. P. कीरत, 'fame', Skr. कीर्ति.

M. H. P. G. रास 'a heap', Skr. राशि.

M. H. P. G. नीत 'mortality', Skr. नीति.

M. G. वस्त, H. P. वस्त, 'a thing', Skr. वस्तु.

H. P. साध 'a good man', Skr. साधु.

M. G. H. P. मध 'honey', Skr. मधु.

Not only does this law characterise the vernacular speech of the day, but it must have been in operation for centuries, since the old Prakrit words, which like the above have not recently been imported but have descended to the modern languages from the spoken dialects of ancient times, have also been similarly changed. Thus :—

M. B. भूक, H. G. B. भूख, P. भुक्ख, O. भोक 'hunger', Pr. बुहुक्खा, Skr. बुभुक्षा.

M. H. P. G. जीभ, B. O. जिभ, S. जिभ, 'tongue', Pr. जिब्भा, Skr. जिह्वा.

H. P. सेज, M. G. शेज, S. सेज सेजा, 'a bed', Pr. सेज्जा, Skr. शय्या.

M. भीक, H. G. भीख. P. भिक्ख or भीख, B. O. भिक, 'alms', Pr. भिक्खा, Skr. भिक्षा.

M. नीज, H. P. नींद, S. निंड, 'sleep', Pr. निद्दा, Skr. निद्रा.

M. सोंड, H. सूंड, G. सूंढ, P. सुंड, B. O. शूंड, सूंढि 'trunk of an elephant', Pr. सोण्डा, Skr. शुण्डा.

M. G. दाढ, H. डाढ, 'a jaw', 'a grinder', Pr. दाढा, Skr. दंष्ट्रा.

H. S. साध, B. साद or साध, O. साध, 'wish', 'longing', Pr. सद्धा' Skr. .

M. G. धूळ, H. धूल, S. धूरि, B. O. धूला, P. धूर, 'dust', Pr. धूलि, Skr. धूलि.

M. बहिण or भैण, H. भैण, बहिन or बहन, G. बेन, B. बोन, 'sister', Pr. भइणी, Skr. भगिनी.

M. म्हैस, H. भैंस, G. भेंस, P. मैंह or भैंस, 'a she-buffalo', Pr. महिसी, Skr. माहिषी.

H. P. कोख, G. कुख, M. कूस, 'a side of the abdomen', Pr. कुक्खि, Skr. कुक्षि.

M. सवत, H. सौत, 'a fellow wife', Pr. सवत्ती, Skr. सपत्नी.

M. खाण, H. खान, 'a mine', Pr. खणि, Skr. खनि.

H. सास, P. सस्स, M. G. सासू, 'motner-in-law', Pr. सस्सू, Skr. श्वश्रू.

M. G. वीज, P. बिज्ज, 'lightning', Pr. विज्जू, Skr. वि त्.

M. ऊंस, H. ऊख or ईख, P. इक्ख, Pr. उच्छु, Skr. इक्षु.

H. G. आंख, P. अक्ख, B. O. आखि, 'the eye', Pr. अक्खि, Skr. अक्षि.

M. G. B. O. हाड, H. हाड, हड्ड or हड्डी, P. हड्ड or हड्डी, Pr. अट्ठी, Skr. अस्थि.

In this manner the final आ, इ, ई, उ and ऊ of Sanskrit and Prakrit nouns have, in almost all cases, been dropped in the vernaculars or changed to a silent अ. Final ओ is similarly treated. Even in the Apabhraṁśa period this rule of accentuation must have prevailed, since the ending vowels are similarly shortened in a good many cases. The Prakrit ओ of the nominative singular of masculine nouns is mostly shortened to उ in that dialect, and sometimes altogether dropped, The modern vernaculars have thus got a great many masculine nouns ending in the silent अ, such as हात or हाथ 'hand', कान 'ear', दांत 'tooth', धीट 'bold', वड 'the Banyan tree'. When the final vowel is preceded by another, and not by a consonant as in these words and the others given in the above lists, that other vowel, being accented by our rule, shows a tendency to become long; and the original final being dropped, the accented vowel becomes final. Thus ;—

Skr. मौक्तिकम् 'a pearl', Pr. मोत्तिअं, M. मोतीं, G. P. H. मोती.

Skr. पानीयम् 'water', Pr. पाणिअं, M. G. पाणीं, H. पानी.

Skr. यूथिका 'a flowering bush', Pr. जुहिआ, M. H. G. जुही or जुई.

Skr. घोटिका 'a mare', Pr. घोडिआ, M. G. H. P. घोडी.

Skr. शाटिका 'a garment', Pr. साडिआ, M. G. H. साडी.

Skr. मृत्तिका 'earth', Pr. मत्तिआ, मट्टिआ or मिट्टिआ, M. माती, H. मट्टी &c.

Skr. तैलिकः 'a seller of oil', Pr. and Ap. तेल्लिओ-उ, M. तेली.

Skr. नापितः 'a barber', Pr. नाविओ or ण्हाविओ, Ap. नाविउ, M. न्हावी, H. नाई.

Skr. वृश्चिकः 'a scorpion', Pr. विञ्छुओ, Ap. विञ्छुउ, M. विंचू, H. P. बिछू, S. विछु, B. O. बिछा.

Skr. यूका 'a louse', Pr. जूवा, H. P. G. जू, M. ऊ.

Skr. वाटिका 'an enclosre', Pr. वाटिआ or वाडिआ, M. G. H. वाडी, B. वाटी.

Skr. वीटिका 'a roll of betel leaf, &c.', Pr. वीडिआ, M. विडी, G. बिडी, H. बीडा.

Skr. जीवः 'life', Pr. जीओ, Ap. जीउ, H. जी.

Skr. लोहितम् 'blood', Pr. लोहिअं, G. लोही, H. P. लोहू.

Skr. जलौका 'a leech', Pr. जलोआ, M. जळू, G. जळो.

Skr. वालुका 'sand', Pr. वालुआ, M. G. वाळू, H. बालू.

Thus then, the Sanskrit and Prakrit penultimate vowels become final in the vernaculars and, being originally accented in consequence of the law we have been considering, retain that accent in most cases, and are thus lengthened. When the penultimate happens to be अ it is lengthened to आ, as in

Skr. घोटकः 'a horse', Pr. घोडओ, Ap. घोडउ, M. H. P. B. O. घोडा.

Skr. पारदः 'mercury', Pr. पारओ, Ap. पारउ, M. H. P. B. O. पारा.

Skr. आमलकः 'a kind of myrobalan', Pr. आमलओ, Ap. आवंलउ, M. आंवळा, H. P. B. आंवला or आमला.

Skr. आम्रातक: 'hog-plum myrobalan', Pr. अम्माडओ ?, Ap. अम्बा-डउ, M. आंबाडा, H. अंबाडा.

Skr. बिभीतक: 'beleric myrobalan', Pr. बहेडओ, Ap. बहेडउ, M. बेहडा, H. P. बहेडा.

Skr. पुस्तकम् 'a volume', Pr. पोत्थओ, Ap. पोत्थउ, H. P. पोथा.

Skr. कण्टक: 'a thorn', Pr. कण्टओ, Ap. कण्टउ, M. H. B. कांटा.

Skr. गोलक: 'a ball', Pr. गोलओ, Ap. गोलउ, M. P. गोळा, H. B. गोला.

Skr. शालक: 'brother-in-law', Pr. सालओ, Ap. सालउ, M. H. साळा, H. साला.

Skr. दीपक: 'a lamp', Pr. दीवओ, Ap. दीवउ, M. दिवा, P. दीवा, H. B. दिया.

Skr. मञ्चक: 'a bedstead', Pr. मञ्चओ, Ap. मञ्चउ, M. मांचा.

Skr. मस्तकम् 'head,, Pr. मत्थयं, M. (Goan. Mal. and Chit.) माथां; by a change of gender, Pr. मत्थओ, Ap. मत्थउ, M. H. B. माथा, P. मत्था.

Skr. कटकम् 'a wristlet', Pr. कडअं, M. (Goan. Mal. and Chit.) कडां.

Skr. कीटक: 'a worm', Pr. कीडओ, Ap. कीडउ, M. किडा, H. P. कीडा, B. कीडा.

It may be urged that in modern pronunciation when the penultimate अ is accented, it does not become आ, even though pronounced long, as observed before. How is it then that it becomes आ here? In modern times several new modes of pronunciation have arisen, but as regards the matter in hand, to lengthen अ into आ was the old process. And often when the old processes have disappeared from what is considered as the standard form of a language, they are found preserved in some dialect of that language. Thus, while in the standard Marathi the penultimate अ is simply pronounced long, it becomes आ in the Goanese and Malvani dialects.

Thus :—

St. M.	Mal. Goan.
पातळ 'a garment'.	पाताळ.
कापड 'cloth'.	कापाड.
वतन 'hereditary property'.	वतान.
जतन 'careful preservation'.	जतान.
धोतर 'a garment'.	धोतार.
खडप 'a roek'.	खडाप.

In this manner, then, the penultimate अ became आ in consequence of the accent and, the final vowel being dropped, itself became the final, and has preserved its accent. Thus the nouns ending in आ in Marathi and Hindi are derived from Sanskrit nouns with the penultimate and final syllables ending in अ. The consonant of the final syllable is dropped in the Prakrits, and the vowel अ is together with the nominative termination changed to ओ. This ओ, being unaccented, is first shortened to उ in the Apabhraṁśa dialect, and afterwards entirely dropped ; while the accented अ of the penultimate syllable is lengthened to आ and becomes the final. In most cases the final syllable is क applied in Sanskrit to modify the original sense in some way. Instances of those nouns which are seen to have क as the ending syllable in Sanskrit have been given above, together with their Marathi and Hindi forms in आ. And in those cases in which the Sanskrit forms of other Marathi and Hindi words in आ are not seen with a final क, it must have been applied to them in the spokeen language, since Pāṇini gives a very general rule as to the addition of क to all nouns, and we actually find its remnant अ in a great many words, including past and present participles in the Prakrits. I have spent so much time on this instance in order to give you an idea of the extent to which it is sometimes necessary to make close observation, discover analogies, and trace the operation of laws, to enable us to arrive at correct etymologies. A mere hap-hazard assertion without any proof is unscientific and will not do in philology any more than in other subjects.

In connection with this matter of insufficient or superficial analogies, I may mention that those who are engaged in the studies I have been speaking about are peculiarly open to their influence, especially when they lead to or support a theory which is striking. Thus, the Rāmāyaṇa is supposed by some to represent the stuggles between the Brāhmaṇas of India and the Buddhists of Ceylon; that the Rākṣasas that disturb the rites of the Brāhmaṇas in the Daṇḍakāraṇya are Buddhists; that the red clothes worn by the priests at the magic rites of Indrajit are the brown garments of Buddhist mendicants &c. Again, Sītā's ravishmemt is the same incident as the ravishment of Helen, and Śiva's bow which Rāma bent is the bow of Ulysses. Therefore, Vālmīki must have been influenced by Homeric ideas, and the poem written after the Hindus came in contact with the Greeks. I cannot stop to give you a detailed account of this controversy; but will observe that if such analogies are to be used as arguments in favour of a certain theory, an antiquarian in the remote future may declare that the Maratha Hindus had no family names before the British conquered India; but that they learned to use them, having seen the British doing so. Hence some of their family names are but mere tanslations of British names; thus Gore or Dhavale is a translation of White; Kale, of Black: Landge, of Wolf, Kolhe of Fox; Parvate or Dongre, of Hill; Barve, of Wells; Gole, of Ball; Ghate of Bell, &c. But as we now know that we had these names before we heard of the British, the theory cannot be advocated at the present day. And to my mind the analogies about the ravishment of the wife of another and the bending of a heavy bow are more natural and less due to intercommunication than this close correspondence of family names. For, what incident is more common in an early condition of society than for one powerful man to take away forcibly the wife of another? Even in a highly civilized condition of society the incident is not uncommon, though the forces used are of a more delicate nature. The same remark applies to a heavy bow. And the state of society pictured in the

Rāmāyaṇa is very archaic ; the whole Maratha country was a forest infested by Rākṣasas or savages, the ancestors of our Bhils and Gonds ; and the gentler races of the South were so uncultivated that they were compared to monkeys. Vālmīki does not mention a single Maratha town, while in the Mahābhārata the names of Karhad and Supara occur. He has heard a few names of places in Southern India, but does not seem to be familiar with the geography of the country ; while, in the third and second centuries before the Christian era, the Aryas became more familiar with the South, as we see from the inscriptions of Aśoka, Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, and Buddhistic tradition. And to this must be added the weight of the tradition which represents Vālmīki as the first or earliest poet of the non-Vedic Sanskrit. Similarly resemblances have been traced between the ideas expressed in the Bhagavadgītā and those expressed in the New Testament, and a Christian influence detected in that work. But a good many of these resemblences are more apparent than real, the whole tone and manner of the Gītā are different from those of the New Testament, and most of the notions suspected to be borrowed from the Bible are found expressed in the Upaniṣads and such older works, as has been shown by the late Dr. Muir. Scholars seem sometimes, when they have to advocate a theory, to forget our common humanity to which a great deal that is common in our notions must be attributed.

On the other hand, when the evidence is irrefragable it is unscholarlike to deny foreign influence. For instance, the Indian astronomical works written during the first five centuries contain several Greek terms. The names of the twelve signs of the Zodiac are translations of the Greek names ; and the original Greek names even are given by Varāhamihira in the following Āryā quoted by Bhau Daji :—

क्रियताबुरुजितुमकुलीरलेयपार्थोनजूककौर्प्याख्याः ।
तौक्षिक आकोकेरो हृद्रोगश्चेत्थसिः क्रमशः ॥

Where we have Kriya *i. e.* Kriós, Tāvuru *i. e.* Taurós, Jituma *i. e.* Didymos, Leya *i. e.* Léon, Pārthona *i. e.* Parthénos, Jūka

i. e. Zygón, Kaurpya *i. e.* Scorpios, Taukshika *i. e.* Toxótês, Åkokero *i. e.* Aigókerôs, Hṛdroga *i. e.* Hydrochóos, Itthasi *i. e.* Ichthy's. Some of the other terms are Heli 'the sun' *i. e.* Hélios, Koṇa *i. e.* Kronos, Kendra *i. e.* Kéntron, Jāmitra *i. e.* Diámetron &c. Altogether there are 36 such terms. These are not Sanskrit words; and to endeavour to give them an unnatural Sanskrit etymology is vain and unscholarlike. We have the clearest evidence of the close connection between Hindus and Greeks from about the third century before Christ to the first after Christ, in the inscriptions of Aśoka and others, in coins which bear the names of Bactrian Greek monarchs, in Greek as well as Indian characters, and in Buddhistic literature. Garga as quoted by Varāhamihira says :—"The Yavanas are Mlecchas among whom this Śāstra (*i. e.* astronomy and astrology) is well known; they even are worshipped like Ṛṣis". The Greeks were at that time called Yavanas; for in an inscription of Aśoka, Antiochus king of Syria is called a Yoṇarāja. So also Milinda who reigned at Śākala in the Panjab and who has been identified with the Bactro-Greek monarch Menandros is called a Yoṇa king in Pali books. The Hindus had their own astronomy before they came in contact with the Greeks; but they borrowed from the latter what was necessary for their own further progress. Prof. Weber thus expresses himself on the point :—"Although most of these names denote astrological relations, still, on the other hand, in the division of the heavens into Zodiacal signs, *decani*, and degrees, they comprise all that the Hindus lacked, and that was necessary to enable them to cultivate astronomy in a scientific spririt. And accordingly we find that they turned these Greek aids to good account; rectifying, in the first place, the order of their lunar asterisms, which was no longer in accordance with reality, so that the two which came last in the old order occupy the two first places in the new; and even, it would seem, in some points independently advancing astronomical science further than the Greeks themselves did."

I will now give a specific instance to show how previous history enables us to understnd the nature of a thing, though what I have hitherto said in connection with other points contains a good deal calculated to illustrate this also. At present we use an era which is called Śālivāhana Śaka ; and ordinarrly we understand the word Śaka in the sence of 'an era,' and believe that the era was founded by a king of the name of Śālivāhana. But the word Śaka has not the sense of an era in the Sanskrit language ; and the expression Śālivāhana Śaka has been in use for about three or four hundred years only. Before that, and even in some books of the subsequent period, the expression used is Śakakāla. Varāhamihira calls it Śakendrakāla or Śakabhūpakāla, i. e. the era of the Śaka king. In an inscription dated 500 Śaka, it is called the era of the coronation of the Śaka king ; and in another dated 556 Śaka, the era of Śaka kings. In all old copperplate grants the expression used is Śakanṛpakāla or Śakakāla i. e. the era of the Śaka king or Śaka. Thus, then, this is an era founded by a great king of the *Śaka* or Scythian race. And that India was exposed to the inroads of the Scythians and that they established a kingdom in the country, is proved by many an inscription and coin. There was a dynasty of kings who called themselves Satraps and ruled over Ujjayinī, Kathiawar, and Gujarat. In the beginning at least they were in all likelihood the viceroys of the Śaka kings.

Śālivāhana or Śātavāhana was the name of a royal family which ruled over Dakṣiṇāpatha or Southern India. The principal branch reigned at Dhanakaṭaka in Telingaṇa, and the younger princes of the family, or a subordinate branch, ruled over Paithana. The Śātavāhanas came in contact with the conquering Śakas, who established their power also over a part of the country ruled over by the Śātavāhanas. But after a short interval of time, one of the princes of this family succeeded in driving away the foreigners and regaining the lost provinces. The Śakas and the Śātavāhanas were by these events associated together in the popular memory ; and it must have been on this account that the names of the two families came to be connected

in after times with the era, which thereafter was called the Śālivāhana Śaka. More information, however, is wanted to enable us to understand satisfactorily how the name Śālivāhana came to be connected with the era; but at present we do not possess it.

Thus, then, the great lesson we have to learn is that if we wish to know and understand the truth about a point, whether in science or practical life, we should seek analogies, find out, if we can, the history, and criticise, not foolishly and ignorantly as we often do, but according to well defined and rational principles.

And now, gentlemen, and my Hindu friends in particular, a word as to my object in taking up this subject for to-night's discourse. It is no use ignoring the fact that Europe is far ahead of us in all that constitutes civilization. And knowledge is one of the elements of civilization. Experimental sciences and the sciences that depend on the critical, comparative, and historical method have made very great progress in Europe, and what deserves our earnest attention is that they are every day making further and further progress. The Europeans have derived much greater advantage from our connection with them than we have from their connection with us. They have turned to account their acquaintance with the sacred language of our country, and have added the sciences of comparative philology and comparative mythology to their existing store of knowledge. The old principle of the classification of races has been given up, and a new one based on the affinity of languages adopted. Civilized mankind has in the first place been divided into three races,—the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Turanian. The first has again been subdivided into the Hindus, the Hellenes, the Italians, the Slavs and Lithuanians, the Kelts, the Teutons including the Scandinavians and the Germans, &c. So strongly and universally has the fact that affinity of language points to a community of descent and consequently to a common nationality been grasped in Europe

that "to it," as Sir Sumner Maine remarks, "we owe, at all events in part, the vast development of German nationality; and we certainly owe to it the pretensions of the Russian Empire to at least a presidency over all the Slavonic communities."—So that, it may be remarked by the way, the many wars that have been fought in Europe since 1855, and are likely to be fought during the next twenty years, have or will have for one of their causes the discovery of Sanskrit. Though in itself this is by no means a very gratifying result, still I allude to it simply to show how deeply the Europeans have been influenced by the new ideas. Similarly, I think the liberality that is now observable in the religious thought of Europe is due to the study of Sanskrit and Pali literature. All this will show the activity of the European intellect, and convince us that the principle of progress is very strong in their civilization. But what advantages have we derived from them? A great deal of what they have got from us has but very indirectly been given to them by us; while they have placed before us a whole civilization, which undoubtedly is far superior to ours in a great many points. The impulse to be communicated to us by it ought to be a hundred-fold stronger than that which we have communicated to them. Just as they have used the critical and comparative faculty with energy and produced the results I have just noted, we should use it and direct it not only to find what is true in science, but what is good and rational in social and religious institutions. But have we received the impulse, have we been using the faculty? Who can say we have, while our new literature is scanty and barren of any original idea and we are still quarreling about female education, caste, and religion? Why should we not move on, side by side with Europeans, in the great fields of thought? Why should discoveries be made in France, Germany and England, and not in India? If you say that in most of the branches there are facilities in Europe for making fresh additions to the existing stock of knowledge, while we have none in India, surely no costly laboratories are required to enable us to study the ancient literature of our country and its architectural remains and inscrip-

tions, and to throw light on its politiical and literary history and its philology. This is a field in which we may successfully compete with Europeans, and in which we enjoy certain peculiar advantages. But these advantages can be turned to account only if we follow their critical, comparative, and historical method. My object, therefore, has been to call your attention to the nature and requisites of this method, in order that by its successful application to the branch of study I am speaking of, we may take our legitimate place among the investigators of the political, literary, and religious history of our country, and not allow the Germans, the French, and the English to monopolize the field. And here I feel myself in duty bound, even at the risk of displeasing some of you, to make a passing allusion to the most uncritical spirit that has come over us of praising ourselves and our ancestors indiscriminately, seeing nothing but good in our institutions and in our ancient literature, asserting that the ancient Hindus had made very great progress in all the sciences, physical, moral, and social, and the arts,—greater even by far than Europe has made hitherto—and denying even the most obvious deficieneies in our literature, such as the absence of satisfactoty historical records, and our most obvious defects. As long as this spirit exists in us, we can never hope to be able to throw light on our ancient history, and on the excellencies and defects of our race, and never hope to rise. While, if we shake ourselves free of such a bias, and critically and impartially examine our old records and institutions, we shall do very great service to our country; we soall be able to check the conclusions of some European scholars who are swayed by an opposite bias; and at the same time that by a clear perception of out great national defects we prepare the ground for healthy progress in the future, we shall, I promise you, find a great deal in the past of which we may honestly be proud.

But an honest and discerning pride in the achievements of our ancestors entails a heavy responsibility and duty. We should render ourselves the worthy sons of the fathers whom we respect.

A son that is no better than the father or is worse certainly dishonours him. Have we then not been dishonoring our ancestors, of whom we profess to be so proud, by going backwards and thus becoming worse than they, or, at the best, standing where they left us ? For, if you examine your history you will find that your philology is where Pāṇini and Kātyāyana left it, and your philosophy and literature where Kapila, Kaṇāda, Gotama, Vālmīki, Vyāsa and others left them ; and your social institutions are actually far more irrational than theirs were in the very olden age. Let us therefore do honour to them by showing that we have their capacities and can use our rare opportunities. We have just seen how fifteen hundred years ago, the Hindus availed themselves of the astronomical knowledge of the Greeks; they 'worshipped' the Greek astronomers, in the words of Garga, 'as Ṛṣis', and finally, according to Prof. Weber, who is by no means fond of praising us, advanced astronomical science further than they did. Let us act likewise, and, sitting at the feet of the English, French, and German Ṛṣis, imbibe the knowledge that they have to give, and at least keep pace with them, if not go beyond them. Let us learn, let us reform. If we do not do so, fifteen centuries hence, the antiquarian of the period will, unlike Weber, say, " the English placed before the Indian Aryas the highest civiliization which Europe had reached by the end of the nineteenth century ; but in the hot plains of India, the Indian Aryas had grown so degenerate, that it produced no influence whatever on them, and their degeneracy deepening, they eventually became hewers of wood and drawers of water, or were swept off the face of the earth by the inexorable law of the survival of the fittest."

LINES FOR FRESH RESEARCH IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE AND INDIAN ANTIQUITIES

[From the Sanskrit Research, Bangalore, 1915, Vol. 1, pp. 51ff. being a lecture originally delivered under the auspices of the Free Church College Literary Society of Bombay in 1905.]

It gives me very great pleasure to find that a school of critical scholarship is growing up amongst us. The young men who were sent to Europe and America by Government to work under European and American scholars for two or three years, or who went there on their own account, have been endeavouring, with the assistance of an energetic young gentleman, who is both a scholar of the old and new school, to organise, in connection with an institute at Bangalore, a series of lectures on subjects connected with Sanskrit literature and Indian Archæology, treated on the principles, accepted and approved by critical enquirers, and also to issue a periodical magazine.

In 1888, just 27 years ago, I delivered a lecture on "the critical, comparative and historical method of inquiry" in connection with the Free Church Literary Society, Bombay, and published it in the form of a pamphlet.[1] It does not appear to have attracted the notice of our Sanskrit students, and there has been very little work done by Indians in the field of critical research. I therefore call the attention of students again to the lecture. Seventeen years later, i. e., about ten years ago, I delivered another lecture in the same institution. Therein I suggested or pointed out fresh fields for research in the various branches of Sanskrit literature and Indian antiquities. This lecture has remained unpublished to this day, and I deem the present one to be a fit occasion, when we have so many young men prepared to work in connection with original research, to

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1 **Printed in this Volume. *ante*, pp. 362 ff.**

publish it. This I do in the following pages, omitting only a few introductory sentences.

Before I proceed, allow me, gentlemen, to state that whatever is done must be done strictly in accordance with the critical method. There is nothing mysterious about this method. It is the same method as that pursued by a judge in coming to a decision in the civil and criminal cases that come up before him. But I must lay special stress on one or two points in connection with our province of enquiry. We must discard certain suppositions which, as natives of this country, have taken a firm possession of our minds. The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata should not be regarded as books of sober and authentic history. Vyāsa should not be believed as the author of all the Purāṇas in face of the facts that their contents are not only inconsistent with each other, but positively betray hostility towards the views and creeds of each other. Nor should all the Purāṇas be regarded as ancient because they pretend to be so. Some of them are very modern. Several other such suppositions might be mentioned. I would recommend you, for the practical understanding of the method, to read carefully the works of European and American scholars.

The most ancient Sanskrit work is the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā. European scholars have been working at it for the last fifty years and have published editions of the original and Sāyaṇa's commentary on it, dictionaries giving references to all the passages in which a certain word occurs, grammars, translations, innumerable essays discussing particular points, books containing descriptions of the deities and the genesis of the conceptions involved. But the language of the Ṛgveda is very old ; a great many of the words, grammatical forms and idioms are unintelligible. The question therefore is what are the helps to the study of the Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā. There is a long commentary on it by Sāyaṇa. But the interpretations given by him sometimes appear unnatural and far-fetched ; in some cases the same word is ex-

plained differently in different places and the same verse is interpreted differently in different Vedas. Sāyaṇa, therefore, had no traditional interpretation of the Veda to guide him. Some European scholars, headed by Roth, therefore set him aside entirely and, regarding the Ṛgveda as an Indo-Germanic work, i. e., a work containing the thoughts of the early ancestors of the whole stock rather than a work belonging to the Indian branch of the race, interpret it by means of etymology, grammar, comparison of all the passages in which a word occurs and by one's own idea of what is appropriate in the case of primitive thought. Other scholars have recently contested the truth of this view and laid down that the Ṛgveda is essentially a Hindu work; that though Sāyaṇa interprets the same words and passages in different places in different ways, still *cne* of the ways at least is often found correct and therefore he was in possession of some tradition; that the same holds good of Yāska, who, though he interprets words by means of etymology, often-times mentions the Aitihāsikas (or knowers of legends) and Saṁpradāyavids (or persons acquainted with the tradition); that the Nighaṇṭus, though they contain but a few words and only give their general sense, must be considered as based on tradition; that there is no wide and impassable clift between the Ṛgveda and the later literature and that therefore all the help we can derive from this last we must avail ourselves of; that we should seek Hindu ideas (or at least the primitive forms of Hindu ideas) in the Ṛgveda rather than Indo-Germanic ideas. The necessity of comparing parallel passages and even the aid of etymology are not dispensed with by this school. Pischel and Geldner are the scholars who have put forth this view, and I believe it is correct. Though there is a break in the tradition and a great many changes and revolutions took place in later times, still we cannot say that between the Vedic and later Indians there is that difference which exists between two entirely different nations. I will give an instance of persistent continuity. Cāraṇas or bards in Gujarat and Rajputana narrate stories the verses in which have been composed by others; but

the link between them is supplied by the Cāraṇas orally in prose, so that if the tradition of the stories is lost and only the verses, as having a permanent form impressed on them, are preserved, these verses become unintelligible without the oral prose link supplied by the living bard. Now the practice of telling such stories existed in Buddhistic times and in those represented by Brāhmaṇa literature, and there are hymns in the Ṛgveda also which are called Ākhyāna hymns and which contain verses only. The connection between them was once orally supplied but has now to be guessed to render the verses intelligible. Here then we have a continuous literary practice from Vedic times to this day. And in these days we are as anxious about prajā (progeny), paśu (cattle or wealth), and dakṣiṇā as the old Vedic bards were. The Ṛgveda has been translated from Roth's point of view by Grassmann and to a certain extent by Ludwig also. But if any one of you are disposed to work in this direction, I would recommend its being translated in accordance with Pischel and Geldner's idea. But rather than undertake such a laborious work at once it would be well for you to confine yourself to parts or to the elucidation of certain words and expressions by means of the processes above mentioned. A student of the Ṛgveda will have to read it many times from different points of view. Even the grammar has not been fully investigated, especially the syntax. Roth has noticed a curious phenomenon in the omission of the termination of a case after some nouns when it is used after others in a sentence. In the case of the omission the termination is to be brought over to the noun from another noun after which it is used. Thus in viii. 11. 1 we have त्वमग्ने व्रतपा असि देव आ मर्तेष्वा । "Thou O Agni, art the protector of the law among gods and mortals." The sense does require our understanding देव as देवेषु, the षु being brought over from मर्तेषु. So also वृषा रुक्ष ओषधीषु नूनोत् vi. 3. 7. "The fire roars in trees and bushes", रुक्ष having षु supplied to it from ओषधीषु. Similarly तमिन्महत्स्वाजिषूतेमर्भे हवामहे (i. 81. 1). "We invoke him (Indra) in fights large and small." Evidently अर्भे is here con-

trasted with महत्सु and should therefore be अर्भेषु. Several more such cases have been adduced by Roth.

The text of Ṛgveda, there is reason to suppose, is not quite the same as it was originally. Some Sūktas and Ṛks are found in the other Vedas, and there the readings in some cases are different. What the original readings were will have to be determined, if at all possible, by comparing the variation and taking a good many other facts into consideration. The way has been shown by Oldenberg, and it is quite open to any of us to follow it.

Another question that will have to be considered is whether the sacrificial ritual that prevailed in the times of the Ṛgveda was as elaborate as that detailed in the Brāhmaṇas; and if not, to determine its nature and compare it with that which came in later. The supposition that the Brāhmaṇa ritual was elaborated in later times is supported by the fact that the Mantras used in some of the ceremonies are not to be found in the same place in the Saṁhitā, i. e., are chosen from different parts of it, and the principle laid down in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa is that that Ṛk should be used which has some reference to the ceremony that is performed. So then here we find the practice of attaching Ṛk verses to every new ceremony to confer sanctity on it in its initial stage. In later times the connection between the Ṛk used and the ceremony did not go beyond the sameness of sound, howsoever entirely different and inapplicable the sense of the verse was.

There are several questions to be considered in connection with the Upaniṣads. As to the text, the following facts should be borne in mind. Sometimes the same verse occurs in more Upaniṣads than one, sometimes a whole passage or story found in one is repeated in another, and sometimes in the same Upaniṣad. These phenomena appear in an exaggerated form in the Mahābhārata. A number of verses in the same are to be found in the Manusaṁhitā and certain stories or discourses

occurring in one book are repeated in another (or the same), sometimes in an expanded form. The occurrence of the same verse or verses in different works I have in other place accounted for by the theory that since writing was in ancient India introduced at a late period and was not generally in use even after its introduction, verses containing a moral or religious idea were composed and handed down orally and, after a time, the name of the author was forgotten. Then when books came to be composed they were appropriated by different authors. The same is the case with regard to long passages containing stories or discussions. They were, so to say, in a floating condition, i. e. in the mouths of people, and were afterwards incorporated in books. As to the same discourse (such as that addressed by Yājñavalkya to Maitreyī in the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad) being repeated in another part of the work, this circumstance is, I think, to be accounted for by the supposition that the works in which such repititions occur were made up by collecting matter from different places. The book is really a collection, and not one composed by one and the same author. Hence different versions of the same discourse, found in different quarters, were incorported in the same book. The repeated discourse often-times contains additions, omissions or variations of reading and thus, though in substance it agreed with a preceding one, it was retained on account of its peculiarities. From this reasoning as well as from the fact that different doctrines are sometimes inculcated in the same Upaniṣad, it would appear that these works are generally collections of the observations or discourses of different Ṛṣis.

One thing I would recommend in connection with the Upaniṣads is the study of the growth and development of philosophic and religious ideas from the philosophic hymns of the Ṛgveda to the Upaniṣads. It should be determined what it was that communicated an impetus to the thought of a Ṛṣi ; why it was that the Kṣatriyas are mentioned as particularly active in such speculation ; whether one same doctrine is taught in all the

Upaniṣads; whether, if Pantheism is taught, it is of the nature that all reality consists of one soul, eternal, pure, and knowing, and every thing else is an illusion, or that God by means of self-determination assumes the form of the whole external world; and whether there are not purely theistic principles. If there are such, it should be found out what attributes are assigned to the supreme soul, what is represented as the relation between it and the individual soul, and what is aimed at as the *summum bonum.* All other doctrines, if there are any, should be traced. I have mentioned in a paper I published about five years ago[1] an allusion to the doctrine that the soul is not a permanent substance, and what remains of a man after death is his *karma,*—a doctrine that in later times was adopted by Buddhism. An attempt should also be made to trace the influence of the Upaniṣad ideas on the later development of Hindu religion and philosophy. For the purposes of such an essay as this the Upaniṣads must be interpreted philologically, i. e., according to grammar, usage, context, comparison of parallel passages, and any historical information that is available, and not according to the commentary of any particular school, though all the existing commentaries belonging to the different systems should be read in order that the varying interpretations may serve as guides.

We will now turn to Vyākaraṇa or Grammar. The knowledge of the Grammar of Sanskrit must have been fully attained before the time of Pāṇini and from the very arrangement of his rules Pāṇini's object seems to be to reduce the whole to the shortest possible compass and give it a systematic form. But the question is what is the language taught by Pāṇini. It is not that of the Vedas, since its grammatical peculiarities are specially noticed by him, nor of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, for there are a good many forms in them which violate Pāṇini's rules. The later literature was not popular literature and the author specially learned Pāṇini's grammar and wrote in con-

1 "A Peep into the Early History of India," *Ante.* pp. 7 ff.

formity with it. Some European scholars, and especially the American Sanskritist Whitney, have expressed their utter want of confidence in the grammarians and consider the language taught by them as fanciful or existing only in their imagination. A love of an artificial system is attributed to Indians generally, and if some matters cannot be brought into harmony with a preconceived system, they are made to be so. Thus, the Sūktas in the Vedas have each an author mentioned in connection with them. In some cases the author's name is unknown; but to carry out the system thoroughly, a word from the hymns is taken out and understood and mentioned as the name of the author. Whitney, therefore, does not believe in the reality of the forms taught by the grammarians unless they are found actually used in the language. And first about the Dhātupāṭha it is stated that only about 850 roots out of about 1700 given in it can be traced in the language. The rest, therefore, are invented by the grammarians. Now, as to the lists given by Pāṇini they do not afford a fair ground for judging of his accuracy. For, there is every probability that there are interpolations in them and if there are more roots given in the Dhātupāṭha than are found in the literature the fault may be of later writers or readers. Still, though not found in the existing Sanskrit literature, some roots are found in the Pali stories called Jātakas, as has been pointed out by Dr. Bühler, and some in our present-day Vernaculars. No instance of the use of the root छुप् to touch has been given in the Petersberg Dictionary; but in the form of छू[ना] Hindi and शिव[णें] Marathi it does exist in our languages. Similarly, in the case of forms the change of ध्वे to ढ्वे in the perfect, as in चकृढ्वे prescribed by the grammarians, he asserts, is due to "down-right unintelligent blundering", because there is nothing here which might be expected to change the dental to a cerebral. Why not? There is the same thing here as in the case of अकृढ्वम् and अस्तोढ्वम्, which forms Whitney gives in his grammar as correct. He does not find चकृढ्वे in the literature, but he does not find चकृध्वे either; then why condemn

the former in such violent terms ? It is only a person who does not understand Pāṇini and is prejudiced against Indian writers generally that can use such expressions in speaking of him. Whitney's attacks go much further and he even condemns the logic of his system. But the German scholars, the venerable Hofrat Dr. Böhtlingk and Dr. Keilhorn's pupils have defended him. Now, to be able to say that the grammarians are untrustworthy because the forms and phrases they teach are not found in the existing literature, it is necessary that one should have before one a vast literature composed of works of all sorts, works containing discourses, narrations, and lively conversations. But all styles are not fully represented in the existing Sanskrit literature. Here, as in the case of roots, our Vernaculars may sometimes assist the inquirer in finding out whether the grammarians have taught the language correctly. Thus expressions like याहि याहीति याति "goes again and again," or न संभावयामि स भवान्हरिं निन्दिष्यति "I do not think it probable that his honour will abuse Hari" as applicable even to a past time in which he is asserted to have abused him, are not found in the old literature ; but still our Marathi has the phrases, as in जा जा जातो and मला वाटत नाहीं कीं तो हरीची निंदा करील said in reply to one who has reported, त्यानें हरीची निंदा केली. It would certainly not do here to say that in teaching these phrases Pāṇini drew on his imagination.—If then some of Pāṇini's forms and phrases are not found in the existing literature, but his grammar does teach a real language, what was that language ? About thirty-seven years ago I showed, in the Preface to my Second Book of Sanskrit, that the several past tenses are used in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa exactly in the senses attached to them by Pāṇini. Dr. Keilhorn's pupils have carried on the examination further and the conclusion follows that the Bhāṣā or spoken language of which Pāṇini teaches the grammar was akin to that of the Aitareya and other Brāhmaṇas. A question connected with this is whether Sanskrit was ever a spoken language. Curious views are held with reference to this by European scholars, some of whom do not seem to be

actuated quite by an impartial spirit. These I have considered in my Seventh Wilson Philological Lecture published in the Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, and arrived at the conclusion that the Sanskrit was the language of educated people and the Prakrit of the lower strata of society, and the area over which the former was spoken gradually became narrower and the Prakrits went on developing until they have become the modern Vernaculars. Dr. Franke has written on the subject and arrived at similar results, and recently a paper followed by a debate was read at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society. No two scholars approach the subject from the same point of view, the question often becomes confused and it is very difficult sometimes to apprehend precisely the difference between two writers and speakers. Still the whole question is worthy of reconsideration ; and I would recommend to your attention Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, which is a great work well worthy of close study. The style is pure, sometimes lovely, the argumentation is close and subtle, and it is real pleasure to read and understand the book. But often it is difficult to apprehend the connection between the several sentences. The instances given and the observations frequently made are full of information, but these have already been collected by Weber. Still a careful reader will glean much more than Weber has done. It is worth the while of a critical student to devote close attention to the work.

I will now turn to the Mahābhārata. European scholars have but recently begun to study this epic and grapple with the innumerable questions connected with it. One of the main points is whether the Mahābhārata is a Smrti, i. e. a didactic work, or an Epic. If the former, the principal object must be considered to be to teach morality, the main story and other smaller ones being narrated to illustrate and support the doctrines inculcated. On this theory the whole book, it is said, will have to be considered as having from the beginning existed in the form in which we find it to-day. But I have already, in going over the Upaniṣads, given a reason why the Mahābhārata must

be considered as a collection of heterogeneous matter and not as one whole. Again, southern Mss. of the Epic are different from those in the North. A copy of Aśvamedha Parvan in Telugu characters was once examined by me; and I found it contained stories and other matter which the Bombay edition did not contain. Again, Patañjali mentions the names of Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna etc., and the family name Pāṇḍava, and tells us that the Kurus fought in accordance with the law, i. e. theirs was a fair fight in which no undue advantage was taken and that Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna were well-known. Taking these facts into consideration and the circumstance that the name Mahābhārata is mentioned by Āśvalāyana and Pāṇini, I arrive at the conclusion that a Mahābhārata existed in Patañjali's time. Still, under Pāṇini iv. 2. 60, he tells us that Yāvakrītika is one who reads and knows the Ākhyāna of Yavakrīta and Yāyātika one who reads or knows the Ākhyāna of Yayāti. Here these Ākhyānas are evidently spoken of as having a separate existence. But at present we have them in the Mahabhārata alone. And since we have supposed that a Mahābhārata existed in the time of Patañjali, these stories did not form parts of it. Even if they did, and the stories existed separately also, the circumstance would show that the Mahābhārata was made up by collecting matter from different quarters.—Again, the different parts of the Epic are unequal and written in different styles. I have elsewhere given a reason why I consider the chapter in the Ānuśāsanika Parvan in which the relations between the Śakas and Yavanas on the one hand and Brahmans on the other are represented to have been written after those races had lost their predominance in the country, i. e. about the end of the fourth century. In the epic itself it is represented as having been edited at different times, the editions differing from each other in extent. From all these reasons it appears that even in the beginning, when the first shape was given to it, it was a work of the nature of a collection like the Upaniṣads; but unlike these, additions were made to it later from time to time.

But a didactic character it seems in some way to have borne from the beginning. Patañjali, as already noticed, reports the tradition which exists at the present day that the Kurus fought in conformity with the law (Dharma), i. e. the moral law. If the war was so regarded, the idea of making it serve a moral purpose must have existed in very early times; and if it did, it is easy to understand how the Epic should attract material of a didactic nature from different quarters. It is by no means necessary to suppose that the existence of that idea must necessarily have led to the Epic being at once cast into the form in which it now exists. The idea was there and it served as an attracting centre. The Mahābhārata, as I have elsewhere stated, is mentioned in inscriptions dated A. D. 492-3 and 495-6, and as a Śatasahasrī or composed of a lakh of ślokas as it now is in one of the year A. D. 532-3. The Bhagavadgītā formed an episode of the work in the time of Bāṇa, i. e. middle of the seventh century, and the Nārāyaṇīya which we have at the end of the Śāntiparvan, in the time of Śaṁkarācārya in the beginning of the ninth century. Looking to the fact that what we at present consider the regular metres mostly prevail in the Mahābhārata and to the frequency with which the irregular ones occur in the Upaniṣads, the work must be supposed to have been composed after them and about the same time as the metrical works in Pali, i. e. about the fourth century before Christ.

These questions of the nature, composition and state of the Mahābhārata deserve your attention. But the Mahābhārata is a mine of information about the literature and philosophy, aims and ideals, manners and customs, and social and moral condition of the periods to which its different parts refer. It deserves study from this point of view, and as it is a huge work certain points or portions only might engage the attention of one scholar. Before however setting to work one must read what the European and American scholars have written about it. We have in German the volumes published by A. Holtzmann, Father Dahlman, and Jacobi, and in English that published by

Professor Hopkins as also an article on the "ruling caste" in the Journal of the American Oriental Society.

The Rāmāyaṇa also deserves our attention. Mss. of the poem differ widely from each other. One often-times contains verses and passages which are paraphrases of the corresponding ones in another. A chapter in one is sometimes longer than that which answers to it in another, or has a portion of the text in the later incorporated in it. This has been accounted for by the supposition that the poem was learnt by heart by rhapsodists, who went from place to place and recited it for the delectation of their hearers, and when it was committed to writing by different persons from the mouths of different rhapsodists, the Mss. came to be in the condition in which we find them. The last or Uttarakāṇḍa and also the first or Bālakāṇḍa were added in later times ; and the story really begins with the exile of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa to a forest. These points you will have to consider if you mean to devote yourselves to the study of the Rāmāyaṇa. The condition of the country South and North as depicted in the poem will also be an interesting study as well as the manners, customs, aims and ideals of the people, as in the case of the Mahābhārata. You will also have to consider why it is that the characters in the Rāmāyaṇa are not mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya as those in the Mahābhārata are, and why even Amara gives the name of Kṛṣṇa among the synonyms of Viṣṇu, but not of Rāma. It will also be useful to compare the story with that in the Daśaratha Jātaka, which represents Rāma, called Rāmapaṇḍita, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, the children of the eldest wife of Daśaratha, to have been banished to a forest for twelve years, because the wife that had succeeded the mother of Rāma wanted Daśaratha again and again to assign the kingdom to her son Bharata ; and Daśaratha feared that she might even take away the life of Rāma and the other two. But nine years after, Daśaratha died and Bharata instead of ascending the throne went to Rāma and endeavoured to persuade him to return and assume the sovereignty. But since he had been banished for twelve

years and there still remained three, Rāma would not return. At the end of the three years he came back and took possession of the throne. Curiously enough, Sītā though represented as Rāma's sister, was raised to the dignity of the Chief Queen.

I may here mention that the large number of Jātaka stories in Pali, which have now all been printed and some[1] of which have been translated, deserve careful study. As already stated, Dr. Bühler made use of them to point out to Professor Whitney that some of the roots in the Dhātupāṭha, the existence of which he attributed to the inventive faculty of the Indian grammarians, were in vernacular use. Another scholar has written a book based on them on the "social divisions in Eastern India at the time of Buddha". The stories are interesting in more ways than one and the information to be gleaned from them as to the manners and ways of thinking of all sorts of men from the king to the common labourer in the street and the condition of Indian Society generally is very valuable. They vividly represent the virtues and vices of the times to which they refer.

Purāṇas (and usually the Purāṇa) are mentioned in some of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras. The contents of a Purāṇa are five-fold: 1. creation, 2. resolution or dissolution, 3. family or geneology, 4. the Manus or certain periods, and 5. the doings of persons belonging to certain families. The idea has been started by Mr. Jackson that originally there was only one Purāṇa as in speaking of it the singular (Purāṇa) only is used. But that is not the invariable practice; the plural also is used. But while comparing the Vāyu, the Mārkaṇḍeya, and Liṅga Purāṇas it appeared to me that the sections on creation agree in substance as well as words in those Purāṇas as if they were derived from a common source; while the Viṣṇu has an abridged form of them. It appears that the Purāṇas were written to extol particular deities such as Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, etc. and

1. Since the above was written all have been translated.

advance their worship, to sanctify customs that had come into use and lay down certain religious duties and prohibit others which had become obsolete. The earliest of them mentions Gupta princes and consequently must have been written, as I have elsewhere stated, in the last quarter of the fourth century. They are of use for tracing the growth of the religion that took the place of the old Vedic fire-worship. Most of the facts and observances of the religion of the day have their authority in one or other Purāṇa.

As to the Hindu Law which we study it is based on certain metrical works which are ordinarily called Smṛtis. There are older works which are called Dharma Sūtras. Patañjali seems to know of those only and not of the Smṛtis. Some Dharma Sūtras, such as those of Āpastamba, Gotama, Vāsiṣṭha etc., are extant. Each of these belonged to a certain Vedic school or Caraṇa, and thus religious and civil law grew up within the limits of that body. A demand for a law binding on all was not, it appears, felt for a long time; but it came to be felt eventually, and the metrical Smṛtis began to be written for general use. Some of these, there is reason to suppose, were based on the Dharma-Sūtras; and as I have stated elsewhere, the Vināyaka-Śānti in the Yājñavalkya Smṛti agrees almost word for word with the Sūtras of the Kaṭha school on the subject. The doctrines laid down by the Smṛtis have been expounded by tha authors of the Commentaries or Nibandhas, such as Medhātithi, Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka and Nīlakaṇṭha. It would be worth the while of a Sanskrit scholar who is at the same time a lawyer to trace the history of Hindu Law, both religious and civil, from its beginning in our oldest literature through the Dharma-Sūtras and the Smṛtis, to the Nibandhas or Commentaries; and if this is a wide subject, any portion of it only might be taken up for such a treatment. The Tagore Law-lecturers at Calcutta, including Professor Jolly, have done good work in connection with the subject. The introduction to the translation of law books published by Dr. Bühler and Jolly in the series of the

Sacred Books of the East will give the readers a good knowledge of the development of Hindu Law up to the rise of the Smṛtis. An easier work, though laborious, would be to trace the quotations from Smṛtis given in the Nibandhas to their source to enable one to find out whether the Smṛtis before their authors were exactly those which we have at present under the same names.

European scholars have not yet done much to elucidate Indian philosophy. I have considered the first portion of the subject already in going over the Upaniṣads. The notions put forth in those works were worked out in the older times by authors whose names are like those of the Ṛṣis, such as Auḍuloma, Āśmarathya, Bādari etc., but all we know of their work are the extremely short notices contained in Bādarāyaṇa's Śārīraka Sūtras. This latter work, as the principal work of the Vedānta, has been commented on by the founders of the various Vedantic schools of modern times. Most of them twist the sense of the Sūtras whenever they have to interpret them in accordance with their own doctrines; but it is a useful task to find out what Bādarāyaṇa's own system was. Dr. G. Thibaut has already done this to a large extent. But there is room for more work in connection with it. The author of the Sūtras does not support the doctrine of Māyā; and it would be worth the while of a scholar to trace the history of the doctrine through all the available works, including Buddistic works of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools, the Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha and the system of the Kashmir Śaivas. A similar treatment should be accorded to Rāmānuja's doctrine of the reality of God, the individual soul and the inanimate world as three distinct substances, the last two being under the perfect control of the first, who is their internal soul and whose bodies they constitute. A work comparing the doctrines of the various Vedantic systems that prevail, viz. those of Śaṁkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Vallabha, Nimbārka and others together with an account of their attitude towards the prevailing religion of ceremonials is very desirable.

There is a great deal of work to be done in connection with the system of philosophy not proposing to be based on the Upaniṣads. What the Sāṁkhya system is is, I believe, not yet clearly understood. Hitherto it has been usual to translate the Prakṛti of this school by Nature which, of course, is inanimate nature. But the first product of Prakṛti is Buddhi or definite conception (अध्यवसाय) and through it is produced Ahaṁkāra or consciousness of self. How this can be a product of Nature in its ordinary sense is more than I can understand. The Sāṁkhya philosophy is the earliest. The words Sāṁkhya and Yoga as well as some of the peculiar terms of the system (*Mahat*, *Avyakta*, *Pradhāna*, *Puruṣa* or *Kṣetrajña*) occur in the Upaniṣada. In the Bhagavad-gītā and other parts of the Mahābhārata also there are some of these terms; and the Pūrāṇas explain the genesis of the world by speaking of the production of the Sāṁkhya principles from the Avyakta or Pradhāna put into motion by God. The chief authority for the system is Īśvarakṛṣna's Kārikā. The so-called Sāṁkhya Sūtra I consider to be spurious. The doctrines are atheistic. But the Saṁkhya alluded to in some of the works mentioned above is theistic, and probably the words Sāṁkhya and Yoga are not used in their technical sense. I would propose that somebody should take up this subject, collect the passages in which these words and some technical terms of the system occur, determine the sense of the words and decide whether the references are to Īśvarakṛṣṇa's atheistic Sāṁkhya or to any other system. Of course the interpretation must be philological; it would not do to accept the views of the sectarians, who interpret the word *Avyakta* in the Kaṭhopaniṣaḍ to mean " the body ".

The Nyāyā and Vaiśeṣika systems should be studied with a view to ascertain their origin. Are there any germs in the previous literature which developed into those systems? An endeavour should be made to ascertain this. The great commentaries on the Sūtras of the two schools should be carefully studied to ascertain the points in dispute between the Buddhists and those schools, and the manner in which they argue with each

other. For, in the celebrated passage in Vācaspati's commentary on the Uddyota, the former tells us that the doctrines laid down by Vātsyāyana in his explanation of Gotama's Sūtras were refuted by the Bauddha Diṅnāga, and Bhāradvāja wrote his Uddyota to answer his objections and set Vātsyāyana right. If possible, any Buddhitic work on Dialectics that may be available should be read for the purpose of comparison. The Nyāya system of Dialectics is very interesting, and probably controversies such as those regulated by it must often have taken place in the olden days.

Lastly, I would suggest that the history of the manner in which the descendants of the old fire-worshipping Ṛṣis have become devotees of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā and a host of other deities, and built temples instead of yajña-maṇḍapas and worshipped idols instead of invisible deities by throwing oblations into the fire in their names should be investigated. The innumerable animals that were slaughtered in the Yajñas or sacrifices produced feelings of revulsion; wordly life was found to be miserable and there were dreams of a happy condition in another world. The Upaniṣad Ṛṣis, therefore, resorted to the contemplation of the Supreme Soul that pervades the beautiful Universe, and aimed at the closest possible approach to him or union with him as the means of the highest bliss. The Buddhas and Jainas found a way in righteous and benevolent conduct, and others derived comfort from adoring Vāsudeva regarded as the Supreme Being and sought for their highest bliss in love for him and faith in him. This school was known afterwards by the name of Bhāgavata and Pāñcarātra. The Vāsudeva of this school and of the Bhagavadgītā were afterwards identified with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa, who had already been objects of worship before, and thus arose modetn Vaiṣṇavism. But India has ever been exposed to the inroads of foreigners and the settlement of these in the country has led to the multiplication of races. These races had their own gods. Some of them, who had preceded the Aryas in their occupation of the country, worshipped their god by means of the

phallus, and his worship must have been so general that he was taken over by the Aryas and identified with their Vedic Rudra. Other races worshipped other deities and these also were adopted into the pantheon, and Purāṇas were written to exalt their glories. Buddhism and Jainism being religions founded by men who came to be considered as perfect beings, naturally there was a desire to worship their relics and pay homage to their statues. The worship of these became general and spread over the Indian world and hence idols of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyana, Lakṣmī, Śiva and Pārvatī were prepared and established in public places for worship. But whatever may be the mode of accounting for the religious revolution that took place in the country, the question itself deserves careful study, and one who desires to take it up will have to read the Purāṇas, the Pāñcarātra-Āgamas, the Śaiva-Āgamas, the later literature of the several sects, and some portion of the Buddhistic and Jaina literatures.

I will devote the remaining portion of the lecture to the consideration of the study of Indian antiquities or of Indian history by means of coins and inscriptions and by the help of such incidental notices in Sanskrit literature as may be available. If you wish to take up the subject. you will have to cast a glance over the volumes of the Indian Antiquary, the Epigraphia Indica, the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society, of its Bombay Branch and of the Bengal Asiatic Society, as well as the separate volumes of inscriptions that are published, and the Archæological Reports, and read such portions of these as refer to the line you may have chosen. As to the inscriptions of Aśoka and those in the cave temples the last thing has not been said about them yet. They deserve a fresh study. The University has been offering a prize for transcripts and translations of the Karla inscriptions but no candidate has yet appeared. Then we have to consider the inroads of the Greco-Bactrian princes into India and the establishment of a kingdom by them in the Punjab with Śakala for their capital. One of these princes named Milinda is noticed in a Buddhistic work as holding a controversy with a Buddhistic saint.

named Nāgasena. Milinda has been identified with Menander. The Bactrians were followed by the Śakas, who ruled over Kathiawar and Malva for more than 200 years, but were soon followed in Northern India by the Kushanas. There appear to have been two families of these, the later having Kaniṣka for its founder. The name of this prince is famous in the literature of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. He is generally placed in the first century of the Christian Era, but I have on a careful consideration assigned him to the first quarter of the third century. There are dates in his inscriptions, but they run on from the unit figures (5, 6, etc.) and I have supposed that the hundreds in those numbers have been omitted in accordance with a practice prevalent in Kashmir in later times. But I am now of opinion that the existence of that practice in the early centuries cannot be proved; there is an inscription of the third Kushana prince in eastern Malva which is dated in the same way as the others belonging to the dynasty, and the practice of omitting hundreds does not seem to have ever existed in Malva. I would, therefore, now put forward the supposition that Kaniṣka founded an era of his own, but that its initial date must be about A. D. 200. The whole evidence I have brought forward is consistent with only such a late date and not with the first century.[1] No scholar has answered my arguments, but they are sceptical as to the truth of my conclusion, and some wish me to read the notices occurring in a Chinese book about the Kushanas, and reconcile them with it. I have yet found no time for it. But this question of Kaniṣka's date is important and is worthy of being taken up by any one of you. Then followed the dynasty of the Guptas and the Kushanas, and the Śakas of the Kathiawar and Malva were deprived of their power. But foreigners continued to pour into the country. There were Ābhīras who penetrated into the country in such large numbers that after they became Hindus

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1 Since the above was written, several other inscriptions containing the name of Kaniṣka have been discovered and the whole evidence requires a thorough sifting.

they formed subdivisions of some of our castes and we have now Aher sonars and ordinary sonars, Aher sutars and ordinary sutars, and Aher gaulis and ordinary gaulis, and several more of such divisions. A dynasty of Ābhīras seems to have reigned somewhere in the Maratha country, probably in Khandesh, since an inscription of one of the princes exists at Nasik. Again we had an inroad of another foreign race called the Gūrjaras. The Gūrjaras, who came by way of the Punjab and gave their name to a part of it which is called Gujarat to this day, settled in Rajputana and founded a kingdom, thence extended their power to Kanauj, which became their capital, and afterwards an off-shoot of the race established a kingdom at Anahilapaṭṭaṇa and gave the name Gujarat to the province of Lāṭa. This race has also given rise to a special division of castes like the Ābhīras. The history of these races which have settled in the country and become Hindus deserves to be carefully studied; all the information that can be got must be secured and that which is now available to us must be weighed critically. I am of opinion that some at least of the Rajput families of the present day are of a foreign origin. Inscriptions of some of the dynasties that ruled over Northern India have been published, but the information available from them has not been collected and put into shape, as that referring to the Maratha and Canarese dynasties has been. A family of the name of Kalacūri reigned in Cedi or the country about Chattisgarh, and a good deal of information is available about it and it can be put into shape. The subject was proposed for a university essay several times but it was not taken up by any body.[1] A dynasty that ruled over some part of Gujarat and even Mahārāṣṭra in the fourth century and is known by the name of Traikūṭakas used the same era as that used by the princes of Cedi. The question to be considered is whether it belonged to the same race as those princes. The history of the Paramāras of Ujjayinī

1 This year (1915), however, an essay on this subject has been received by the University.

and Dhārādeśa has also to be written. We possess a good deal of information about them.

You will thus see how many questions there are in Sanskrit literature and Indian Antiquities which require to be taken up. If we natives of the country study them strickly according to the critical method, we are likely to throw more light on them in in some respects than European and American scholars. But *what is the reason of the fact that though we have been teaching* Sanskrit in the University for the last forty years, we have turned out but few critical scholars? The reason probably is that a man must first devote himself to something that enables him to earn his livelihood; and most of his time being spent in that pursuit, very little is left for anything else. And scholarship is not something that you can acquire at odd moments. I have, therefore, been for several years urging the endowment of permanent fellowships in connection with the Colleges or Universities, and even proposed that the Dakṣinā fund, which in my opinion is now wasted on what are called Dakṣinā fellowships tenable for a year or two only, should be used for endowing permanent fellowships. Lord Harris took up the question at my suggestion, but in the face of the opposition of the Department, which is jealous of any suggession from without, he had to give it up. And endowing fellowships from some other source is something that Government have not yet considered to be necessary for the advancement of original research among us and no patriotic Indian has turned his attention to it.

NAUGURAL ADDRESS

Delivered on the 15th of December 1918, at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute on the occasion of the Opening of a Series of Lectures arranged by the Institute.

[From the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Volume I, (1919-20), pp. 1 ff.].

The object of this Institute is to promote among its members a spirit of inquiry into the history of our country—literary, social and political— and also to afford facilities to outsiders engaged in the same pursuit. The idea is to get scholars to deliver lectures and read papers before the members of the Institute and to publish these in the form of a journal. The work undertaken is indeed arduous; and it may well be questioned whether we Indians are sufficiently advanced to undertake unaided such a task with confidence and execute it in a manner so as to bring about fruitful and uncontestable results. To secure such results some familiarity with the critical and comparative method of inquiry is necessary. Institutions similar to this, e. g. the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, have been in existence for a long time among us, and several Indians have distinguished themselves by their work in connection with them. Our University has sent out into the world a large number of students of Sanskrit and the vernacular languages of India; but the number of inquirers has been very small and almost insignificant. Besides, much of the work done by Indian scholars is considered by the leading scholars of Europe as possessing little worth. We may easily retort to this charge and show their incompetence in dealing with Sanskrit matters; nevertheless we ought to ascertain whether this charge brought against us is based on truth, and, if so, we should set about mending our ways.

I have already tried to impress on our students the importance of the pursuit of a critical and comparative method of

inquiry,[1] and indicated the lines of research that should be followed.[2] But these lectures of mine do not seem to have produced a very wide effect; though, of course, I am much gratified to find that a small body of critical scholars has now grown up and is still growing up amongst us, and naturally they are among the members of this institution. Still, I must once hastily go over what I may call the temptations of an Indian scholar. He is prone to see good in everything old. If he does it without any evidence, he makes himself ridiculous and unworthy of attention; and sometimes even when there is evidence he is prone to take that view of it which reflects most credit on his ancestors. For instance, in a paper entitled 'International Law in Ancient India' a scholar from Madras states that injury to the cultivators, their implements and crops by the enemy was against our international law. If this is to be quoted in our favour as against the practice of European combatants, the fact that European fights are between nations, while Indian fights have been between princes or chiefs, the great body of their subjects remaining unaffected, should not be lost sight of; so that if the enemy did not lay waste the land of the cultivators or do them any other injury, it may possibly have been due to the fact that in the case of success the cultivators and their lands belonged as much to the invading enemy as to the original chief. But this is not an instance of extravagant admiration for ancient Hindus, and it is taken from a paper which is thoughtful and written on critical lines.

But the tendency towards such admiration is very strong in the generally uncultured mind. Several years ago a young enthusiast came to me and wanted to know if in the course of my search for manuscripts I had come across a copy of the Maya-

1 In a lecture delivered in 1888 under the auspices of the Free Church Literary Society, Bombay, and published *Ante*, pp. 362 ff.

2 In a lecture delivered in 1905 in the same institution and published *Ante*, pp. 394 ff.

Saṁhitā which, he said, contained instructions for the accomplishment of wonderful feats. On my replying in the negative, he said that Europeans must have found a copy of the Saṁhitā; for otherwise how could they have possibly made the discoveries and inventions such as those of the telegraph, the telephone and others? Again there are persons who find in the Ṛgveda an allusion to the X-rays, railways and what not! I hope you will not consider my having brought forward these cases an insult to you, implying a comparison of your work with theirs. But what I have called the peculiar temptations of an Indian scholar do, in a large number of cases, influence our judgment.

For instance, reverence for the name of Vyāsa is early instilled into our minds. Consequently we are apt to feel shocked if anybody were to tell us that Vyāsa is only a mythical figure without any historical counterpart. Yet the chief circumstances we know about him are so incongruous and conflicting with each other that they unmistakably point to that conclusion. Vyāsa is said to be the grandfather (by means of Niyoga) of both the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, and yet he lived long enough to watch their deeds and write about them after the time of their death or ascension to heaven, and thus compose a voluminous work beyond the working capacities of an old man. Again, it is said of him in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa that there was only one Veda in the beginning and that Vyāsa divided it into four and taught it to four pupils: the Atharvaveda he taught to Sumantu, the Sāmaveda to Jaimini, the Yajurveda to Vaiśaṁpāyana, and the the Ṛgveda to Paila. Āśvalāyana in his Gṛhya-Sūtra gives a list of the Ṛṣis or Vedic teachers in whose name oblations of water have to be made on certain occasions. Among these Ṛṣis are the authors of the several Maṇḍalas of the Ṛksaṁhitā, and the writers of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, such as Kauṣītaka, Sāṁkhāyana, Aitareya, etc., whose works have come down to us. This, therefore, is a list of actually living Vedic teachers. In this list occur the names Sumantu, Jaimini, Vaiśaṁpāyana, and Paila, spoken of as the pupils of Vyāsa in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, to whom he taught the

four Vedas. If the names of the alleged *pupils* of Vyāsa do occur in this list of teachers, why not that of Vyāsa himself if he was a historical personage and a teacher of these four? Again the Brahma-Sūtras are attributed to Bādarāyaṇa, which is regarded as another name of Vyāsa! So that our Vyāsa is to be the author of the Brahma-Sūtras also. Even such a great writer as Rāmānuja subscribes to this opinion and considers this Vyāsa to be the same as the author of the Mahābhārata! But in the Sūtras themselves occur names of ancient authors with an indication of their views which are often contrasted with each other. With the views of Jaimini, a name specially connected with the karmamārga or the road to final bliss by means of deeds such as sacrificial ceremonies, are contrasted those of Bādarāyaṇa which have a reference to the jñānamārga or the way of knowledge. One would here expect the name of Vyāsa, if that was the name of the author of the Brahma-Sūtras; but we have that of Bādarāyaṇa only. Vyāsa is also considered as the author of all the Purāṇas. But these contain conflicting views, and the same author cannot be considered as speaking highly of the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu in one place and making contemptuous observations about them in another. So that here too Vyāsa is a mythical personage. The word vyāsa has the sense of expansion or analysis, as opposed to samāsa which means contraction or synthesis. As observed before, the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa reports that all the four Vedas form one whole. This whole was expanded or analysed into four distinct substances. The Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad has in two places an enumeration of the then existing lore, in which Itihasaḥ and Purāṇam are put in the singular number, showing that each of these formed an independent whole. These afterwards were analysed, or divided, or expanded into the many stories contained in the Mahābhārata and into the large number of Purāṇas that we possess. Thus there was a vyāsa in each of the three cases and its importance led to the identification of the action with the actor: the analysis came to denote the analyser.

Similarly, we have been since our childhood so familiar with the stories contained in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa that we should at once condemn the critic who spoke of the stories as constituting merely legendary poems, i. e., works of imagination, having perhaps historical basis of which one cannot be certain. The poems are very valuable from the historical point of view, because one can gather from them information as to what men and women did or thought in those days, i. e., as to the stage of civilization at which they had arrived when the poems were composed. But the occurrences reported in them cannot be regarded as strictly historical. In a prize-essay that I had to examine in connection with our University, the writer—who, I believe, was an M. A.—stated that the Mahābhārata was in every sense such a historical work as that of Thucydides. But it did not occur to him that before making such a statement it was necessary for him to settle whether the poem had one author or more, whether these authors were contemporary witnesses of the events they reported and whether the stories told by them were in themselves credible.

As to the authors of the metrical treatises on Law they mostly bear the names of old Ṛṣis of the Upaniṣad or Sūtra period. But it ought not to be supposed that the laws and usages mentioned in the Smṛtis of Yājñavalkya and Āśvalāyana belonged to the period of Yājñavalkya of the Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka and the Āśvalāyana of the Śrauta and Gṛhya Sūtras. It had become the custom or a matter of style to use the names of older sages in composing the Smṛtis and Purāṇas of the period of what I have elsewhere[1] called the Brahmanic revival.

I have here briefly sketched the natural failings of Indian scholars. The fact is that the literature and the antiquities we examine are our own, and naturally we look more to the contents of a literary work than to its historical relations, which require the exercise of the critical faculty. It is questionable whether

1 In the "Peep into the Early History of India," *Ante* pp. 7 ff.

a European Scholar reads Sanskrit works to be amused or instructed by them; his point of view is historical and critical. On one occasion I happened to say to the late Dr. Bühler that the Third Act of the Uttararāmacarita drew tears from my eyes whenever I read it. He seemed to be surprised. This constitutes the difference in the points of view of the Indian and the European scholar. We must not on that account cease to read our Sanskrit and vernacular works for the pleasure and instruction which they afford to us. Only we must take care that our partiality for them in this respect does not obscure our judgment when we have to examine them critically in order to find out their historical relations. We may feel deeply moved by the Third Act of the Uttararāmacarita; but when the question of historical truth comes up for consideration, we must be prepared to accept, if our evidence leads to it, that Rāma and Sitā are mythical personages and that they did not really exist.

I have here touched only the fringe of the subject; the critical method to be pursued I have indicated in the two lectures alluded to above. Our critical studies must be conducted conjointly with European scholars. We should read their works and take hints from the observations contained in them, both as regards the subjects to be investigated and the methods to be followed. Our research work will assuredly bear fruit if it is thus conducted.

In conclusion I am happy to say that, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which we labour, critical scholarship has been steadily advancing among us. In recent years I have had several papers from the Madras Presidency the writers of which show considerable critical acumen and skill and I have full hope that our work here and in the Madras Presidency will put an end to the disparaging tone in which the European scholars speak of us, and compel their approval and even their admiration.

THE MAHĀBHĀRĀTA

[**Being the address delivered by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in inagurating the Mahābhārata Edition work of the Bhandarkar Institute on the 1st of April 1919. This address is being now published for the first time.–N.B.U.]**

The Mahābhārata is a work which is essentially connected with a stage of civilization which the Indian Aryans had attained, and without which that stage would be unintelligible. The traditions which have been embodied in it have their roots in the most early times. The name Bhārata, which indicates the races which fought against each other, occurs in the 3rd Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā, where it is stated that the Brahman or religious worship instituted by Viśvāmitra protects the Bhārata people. On the other hand, in a hymn of the seventh or Vāsiṣṭha Maṇḍala it is stated that the Bharatas were like sticks used in driving the cattle with — torn into shreds, and were feeble; when Vasiṣṭha became their leader, the people of the Tṛtsu race spread over a wide extent. Similarly a prince of the name of Sudās crossed a certain river safely as Indra was pleased with the ministrations of the Kauśikas, i. e., Viśvāmitra and his kinsmen. On the other hand, in the fight between the ten kings Indra protected Sudās through the religious service performed by the Vāsiṣṭhas. Thus it appears that these two Ṛṣis were at times the religious leaders of the Bhārata tribe and Purohitas of Sudās, but which of them supplanted the other is not easy to determine. This is the origin of the famous enmity of the two sages, elaborated and even grotesque stories of which are narrated in later works inclusive of the Mahābhārata. The enmity of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, which is an article of ordinary Hindu belief, has thus come down to us from early Vedic times, and thus also the name of the fighting race, mentioned in the work which we propose to edit, is as old as the Ṛgveda. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa Dīrghatamas Māmateya is represented as having crowned Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta, by the use of the ceremonies contained in the ritual of the Indra coronation, and it is

also stated that Bharata was enabled by it to conquer the whole world, whereupon he performed the horse-sacrifice indicative of his supreme sovereignty. Similarly the name of Janamejaya, the son of Parīkṣit, is mentioned there as having been thus crowned and having performed a horse-sacrifice.

The Mahābhārata is mentioned by Pāṇini, and the Bhārata and Mahābhārata by Āśvalāyana. One way of determining the position of a work in Sanskrit literature which we resort to is to determine the literary stratum to which it belongs. The Ṛk-saṁhitā forms the oldest stratum (or strata), the Brāhmaṇas form the next, though considerable chronological distance separates the two; then we have the the stratum represented by Yāska and Pāṇini. The question now is what position to assign to the Mahabhārata. If we judge form the language, we shall find that it is not in strict conformity with the rules of Pāṇini, as shown by Prof. Rajwade in the case of the Bhagavad-gītā. This is a stage in the growth of the Sanskrit language at which Pāṇini's idiom was not strictly cared for, and a great deal of freedom, which we even in Marathi resort to, was used. But the sounds of the language at that stage had not become corrupt by passing through the mouths of foreign races, i. e. had not acquired the form of Pali. In other words, the language of the Mahābhārata represents the speech of the Indian Aryans, though strictly grammatical forms had gone out of use. Thus this stage in the growth of the language belongs to a period later than Yāska and Pāṇini. The Mahābbārata, therefore, is a work in popular use, and gives us knowledge of the ideas, conceptions, institutions, manners and customs of the Indian Aryans. And thus we find in it the philosophy and the morality which found their proper exposition in the Upaniṣads and Dharmasūtras, such as those of Gautama, Vasiṣtha and Manu. The object of the writers of the Mahābhārata seems to be to include in it in a popular form all the stories and moral and philosophical conceptions that had developed from the remotest times to the period when its composition was conceived of. Thus it forms a sort

of encyclopædia of the knowledge possessed by the Aryans. This object seems to have been never lost sight of during the course of the development of the work and thus we have had interpolations from time to time. For historical purposes it is necessary to ascertain what matter was interpolated at what time. There are differences of reading in individual cases, but they are not so great as in the case of the Rāmāyaṇa, for instance. The theory is that the Rāmāyaṇa was committed to memory and there were rhapsodists who sang it on different occasions. When the poem came to be written out, the reading of the different rhapsodists were used by different writers, and thus we come to have recensions in which the stanzas give the general sense but differ as to the particular words used. Such differences do not seem to exist in the case of the Māhābhārata MSS. Its recensions seem to be due to the interpolations introduced from time to time. There are, of course, as noticed above, varieies of reading in the portions of the recension which agree with each other. Our determination of the text should proceed mainly on these two lines The Mahābhārata Prospectus, which has been prepared carefully by Mr. Utgikar, explains all matters connected with our work. When the text is prepared and established in accordance with the principles explained therein, then will be the time to inquire into and consider various questions concerning the Epic, such as the following. Whether the purpose of the work is to narrate the heroic deeds of the principal characters and the episodes introduced to set off or illustrate the exploits of the heroes, or whether the main purpose of the work is moral or didactic and the epic portions are introduced to illustrate the didactic purpose; whether the poem originally intended to represent the final victory of the Kauravas and was afterwards recast in order to represent their defeat and the success of the Pāṇḍavas, or whether the poem was gradually altered to give it a Vaiṣṇava character which it had not in the beginning; whether Kṛṣṇa's early life was spent in the Gokula or cowherd-settlement, or whether it was totally unconnected

with his career as a member of the Sātvata branch of the race of Yadu and was introduced into the story in later times.

This work we propose to inaugurate on this auspicious New Year's day of our Hindu calender. The conception of the undertaking is entirely due to the enlightened views of Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, from whom we have received and are to receive, munificent financial help but that alone will not suffice, and we have to request other chiefs and persons possessing the means to cotribute towards the successful execution of the plan. For it should never be forgotten that this is a patriotic work. The Mahābhārata is essentially connected with our intellectual life. There is almost no Hindu who has no knowledge of one or more of the heroes whose exploits have been sung in the Epic. Our attitude towards the best of them is respectful and reverential. The late Mr. E. I. Howard, one of our earliest Directors of Public Instruction, often said to me in the olden days that we Hindus should be proud of our Mahābhārata heroes, and entertain feelings of admiration and respect for them. That such a work as the Mahābhārata should still remain a confused mass scarcely does any credit to us, whose attitude towards the heroes should be of such a nature.

And now a word as to the spirit in which the work should confidently be conducted by us. It should be thoroughly impartial. Our aim should be to find out the truth, whether it is flattering to our racial pride or otherwise. Scholars of the leading European nations have been for a long time engaged in making researches into our literature and ancient history. They have got their own critical methods. New ideas and issues strike them more easily than they do us. On the other hand, there are proper Hindu feelings and ideas which they do not

perfectly understand and make mistakes about. Science is not racial or national. European scholars and ourselves should devote respectful attention to what we have got to say to each other, We should learn from them and strictly use their critical methods, and they should not treat our suggestions with contempt, thus alone with the common efforts of both historical and literary research will advance and throw light upon our past ,which must remain dark without such research.

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CONVOCATION ADDRESS

[Delivered by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vice-Chancellor, at the University of Bombay, 1894. Originally published in 1894 by the author.]

Gentlemen of the Senate, Ladies and Gentlemen.— His Excellency the Chancellor has assigned to me the onerous task of addressing you to-day, and it will not, I expect, surprise you if I feel extremely diffident as regards my ability to execute the function which on other occasions was performed by Chancellors, such as His Excellency himself, Lord Reay, Sir James Fergusson, and Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, and by Vice-Chancellors such as Sir Raymond West, Dr. Mackichan, and the Hon. Mr. Birdwood. If I can at all hope to attract your attention, it can only be on the ground of the novelty of a native of this country addressing you from this chair. But even when you look at the fact from that point of view, a feeling of bitter disappointment is sure to arise in your minds. For you have, through a mournful occurrence, lost an opportunity of listening to a more distinguished and abler native of the country, whose public utterances were, as Sir Raymond West in the best notice of Mr. Telang's life hitherto published happily expresses it, characterised by " a sweet persuasive reasonableness, illumined by a diffused radiance of feeling, " and whose inner nature was, as he truly says, " in a great degree that of a meditative Saint, enamoured of purity and holiness, and filled with longing aspirations for the progress of mankind, but especially of the Hindus, towards perfection in knowledge, wisdom, and purpose. " A sadder occurrence than the death, at an early age, of your late Vice-Chancellor I do not remember. When his faculties had reached their fullest development and his thoughts on all subjects had become mature, when, by his intellectual and moral excellence, he had but just risen to a position of high honour and influence, and a wide sphere of

usefulness had opened itself before him, and the highest expectations were everywhere formed of the good he would be able to do, he was snatched away from us by the hands of death. He was not only the brightest, or one of the brightest *alumni* of our University, but as a Fellow and Syndic always exerted himself to promote its interests and raise the quality of its tests. In his hands the interests of higher education, so far as the University was concerned, were safe. Mr. Telang's untimely death revived with very great force the controversy which the occurrence of the death of a graduate always gives rise to. His death was followed by that of another gifted graduate who was an M. A. and M. D.—Mr. Vithal Vishnu Gokhale. He was one of six brothers, all of whom, with the exception of the last, who is still young, achieved great distinction at the University, but three of whom had died before him. Another very promising young man, Mr. L. R. Vaidya, who had gone through all the Arts examinations up to the M. A. very successfully, passed the LL. B. and the Advocate's examination, compiled a very useful Sanskrit dictionary, and edited a Sanskrit poem, similarly died a very premature death. And there have been a good many more such instances. The responsibility for the deaths of these young men is, by a large number of persons, brought to the door of the University. The courses laid down are, they say, very difficult, the rules are stringent, a candidate who has failed in one subject is made to go through the whole course again instead of being examined in that one subject only and the examinations are stiff. In the first place, before the charge can be truly made out against the University, it is necessary that an equal number of young men not belonging to the University should be taken, and the percentage of deaths among them shown to be lower. But this has not been done by anybody. In the next place, many of the young men whose deaths we deplore died not immediately after finishing their course, but a good many years after; so that the heavy strain to which the avocation they had chosen subjected them must at least have as much to do with their premature death as the University course. Still, I am not prepared to

deny that the long course of study that a student has to go through before he becomes an M. A., LL. B., or even a B. A. does impose a heavy strain on the intellects of our young men. The education of a Hindu of the upper classes belonging to a generation immediately preceding ours consisted simply of reading and copying letters and a little mental arithmetic, while we have had to go through a course of training lasting for at least ten years in two or three languages, the literature of those languages, mathematics, history, philosophy, physics, &c. The only sort of indigenous education that can at all be compared with that which we receive is that which was given to those who became Śāstrins or Pandits. But in their case they took their own time to finish a book, and the number of such Śāstrins or Pandits was insignificantly small, there being hardly two or three to each district. If, then, while our fathers, grandfathers and so on were almost entirely free from any mental strain, we are subjected to it for at least ten years, it is not, I think, unreasonable to assume that somehow or other it must tell on our health. What then? Shall we ask that our colleges and high schools should be shut up? No, we are so jealous of this free gift of higher education by a civilised Government that whenever there is a report of the abolition of any of these institutions or a Government Resolution having a remote tendency to discourage higher education appears, we are all up in arms,—metaphorically of course. Shall we then render our degree course easy and direct the examiners to put easy questions? If we think over the matter, we shall see that this demand really means that we want the degree or certificate of higher education, the semblance of it, not the reality. But in practical life semblance will not help us; we must have the reality. And let us see whether while we have the reality of higher education we cannot prevent this heavy mortality amongst our graduates. If we examine the matter more carefully, we shall, I think, find out in what direction the remedy lies. I have been at some pains to ascertain how many men from our M. A. and B. A. lists have died from 1862, the year in which the first B. A. examination was held, to

the year 1880. In this portion of the M. A. list there are the names of 25 Maratha Hindu Graduates, of whom 11, or 44 per cent,, have died, and there are 18 Parsis, of whom only 3, or 16·6 per cent., have died. There are three Gujrathis, one Mussulman, and two Europeans or Eurasians ; but I do not take these into consideration, since the operation of any law in such matters does not become manifest when the area of observation is very limited. In the B. A. list between those years we have 193 names of Maratha Hindu Graduates, of whom 40 or 20.7 per cent. have died. The number of Gujarathi Hindu Graduates is 40, of whom 9 or 22·5 per cent. have died. The number of Parsis is 63 , of whom only 6, *i. e.,* 9.5 per cent., have died. The oldest graduate in this portion of the list is of 32 years' standing, and the youngest of 14 years. Amongst graduates, therefore, of between 32 and 14 years' standing, 44 per cent. Hindu M. A.s have died, while of the Parsis only 16.6 per cent; and 20.7 per cent. Maratha Hindu B. A.s have died, 22·5 per cent. Gujarathi Hindu B. A.s, and 9.5 per cent. only Parsi B. A.s. Now what is the cause of this disparity ? It cannot be said that the Parsis are less studious than the Hindus, for they have obtained equally high University honours ; neither can it be said that after graduation they lead a less busy life than the Hindus. The cause, therefore, must lie in certain circumstances, the existence of which makes the Parsis go on and the absence of which leads to the early breakdown or death of the Hindus. A Parsi enjoys life much better than a Hindu, uses nourishing food, goes through a greater amount of physical exercise, and does not, as a general rule, marry very early. Neither does a Parsi girl enter upon the married condition until she is mature. It must then be that, because these conditions are wanting in the case of the Hindus, so many of them comparatively are unable to bear the strain which higher education and subsequent active life impose upon them and die off. The food used by most of our Hindus, if not all, is hardly nourishing, they have no liking for physical exercise, do not know how to enjoy life, and marry very early and the health of their wives is in a shattered condi-

tion on account of early maternity. Reform in this direction is, therefore, the only way to avert the evil. And this is not the only sphere in which we find the strain upon us to be heavy. We have now come in contact with an energetic race, able to sustain a great deal of continuous and hard exertion, and possessed of habits of punctuality and regularity, which enable a man to go through a large amount of work with the same efforts. We have not yet acquired those habits, and our indigenous modes of work are more leisurely. We have to stand side by side with Englishmen or act under their direction in the work of administration, and compete with them and other European races in matters of trade, commerce, and manufacture. Every one of us who enters the Public Service has to work continuously from 10 o'clock to 5 o'clock, sometimes much later. A man engaged in trade and commerce has always to be on the alert and watchful of his opportunity, and even the labourer in a manufacturing establishment has to work continuously from six in the morning till six in the evening. Thus, under the new conditions of life, we have to bear a heavy strain in almost all spheres of activity. If, then, we will not sink and fall back in the race or die off under the tension, we must turn our attention to reform in the direction indicated by the statistics we have examined. Early marriage, both of boys and girls, must be put a stop to, physical exercise must be regularly resorted to by young as well as old, and our diet must be more nourishing. But I have heard people complain of poverty, and say that they cannot afford to use nourishing food. But complaints of poverty are heard only in connection with education. When a Hindu has to get his boy married he does so, howsoever poor he may be, and borrows, pledges, or pawns, if he has no money. But he will do nothing of the kind for the education of his son. Still he sees that education will enable him to earn a livelihood and sends him to a school, but he will spend as little as possible on the object. Thus, then, to render ourselves fit for the new conditions of life, all our ideas on social matters must undergo a thorough change.

In previous Convocation speeches the change recently introduced into the Arts course has been noticed. As I myself took very great interest in the question and often discussed the new scheme with my lamented friend, Mr. Telang, and as objections are still raised against it in one shape or another, I hope you will allow me to say a few words on it. If one surveys the history of higher education in this Presidency, one will find that a contention between two ideas or sets of views has been going on all along. Some educationists would comprehend or include a great many subjects in a course of general education, while there are others who would put in as few as possible and begin special education early. The necessity of a general education and also of special education has not been denied by either party though in the beginning that for the latter was not practically acknowledged. But there is very great difference as to what subjects a general education and special education should embrace. Higher education began in this Presidency with the establishment of the Elphinstone College about the year 1836. From that time up to the establishment of the University every student of the College had to go through a course of mathematics, beginning with spherical trigonometry and ending with the differential calculus, history, political economy, logic, mental and moral philosophy, and English literature. Even for the B. A. examination, history, and logic and moral philosophy formed part of the necessary course in 1862, the first year in which it was held. In 1863, however, logic and moral philosophy were taken out of the necessary course and put into the special or optional course. A further change in the same direction was made in 1865, when history also was removed from the necessary course, so that a few books in two languages and a short course in mathematics only formed the necessary course. Thus the specialists fully succeeded. Now, gentlemen, the object in laying down a number of optional subjects is to enable the student to apply himself exclusively to that subject in which he takes interest and thus to acquire a special proficiency in it, which he would not acquire if others repulsive to him were forced upon him. But from the manner in

which the subjects out of the optional list were chosen, it would appear that our students had either a varied taste or no taste at all, and were guided by other considerations than the interesting nature of particular subjects. Thus in a large number of cases they did not choose exclusively mathematical subjects or literary subjects or scientific subjects, but took up one or two from one branch and the rest from the others. Thus dynamics and hydrostatics and analytical geometry were chosen with political economy, or logic and moral philosophy; or chemistry, dynamics and hydrostatics, with political economy. The object of the advocates of special education was in this manner defeated by the students. To prevent a fanciful choice of this kind kindred subjects were in 1879 grouped together and a candidate was required to choose one of these groups. But even in the choice of a group the students were very often guided, as I know from experience, not by their tastes but by the probability of an easy or a difficult examination in them. When, from the known characteristics of certain persons, generally appointed examiners, a student saw that an examination in a certain subject would be easy, he took up that subject; and when that in another subject was similarly expected to be difficult, he rejected that subject or group. Thus it often happened that a young man got his B. A. degree after having gone through about seven poetical and prose books or parts of books in each of two languages and a course in mathematics or science not very comprehensive. During the three or four years that he spent at college he did not imbibe any sound principles in spheres of thoughts with which he necessarily came in contact after he went into the world. In practical life there are always political, moral, social, and economic questions coming up, and every graduate has to form some opinion about them and advocate it in the press or on the platform. But for this a great many were hardly qualified, not knowing anything about history, politicals economy, and philosophy. Ignorance of sound thought on those subjects and the absence of the mental discipline which a course of study

in them imparts is one of the many causes of the wild talk and writing that we find about us. Thus a young man goes out into the world and finds the English constitution spoken of. He sees how the people themselves govern the country and their wishes triumph over those of the men above them in the social scale, and conceives a liking for it, aspires after it, and wishes for its introduction into his own country. But he little knows that such a constitution as that implies masses of men being inspired with certain ideas and moving towards their realization, and to work it certain mental and moral habits are required which it takes hundreds of years to acquire, and certain social arrangements which are the growth of centuries. The English constitution of the present day would not have suited the English of the times of the Wars of the Roses. It did not spring up then. It is, therefore, not possible that it will suit India, which in its social arrangements and in its political, economic, and other ideas greatly resembles Europe in or about the end of the "Middle Ages." It is by an intelligent study of the history of England alone that a student can know what social changes must take place, what a transformation of ideas and sentiments there must be, what trials and sufferings must be gone through and how a nation's character should be formed under those trials and sufferings, before it becomes fit for such political institutions as those which prevail at present. The study of moral philosophy is similarly of use in my opinion. If nothing else is effected by it, the student's mind will at least be directed to the awful nature of the distinction between right and wrong, as to which the followers of all schools are agreed, though they explain the origin of the distinction differently. This cannot fail to be of use to a student when he goes out into the world, and the knowledge that he will acquire by the study of this subject will enable him to form for himself a practical theory for his guidance in life. It was for these reasons that, in common with my friend the late Vice-Chancellor, I sought the re-introduction of history, political economy, and moral philosophy into the general course. But there was such a strong opposition against the inclusion of

moral philosophy that it had to be given up. History we did succeed in getting in, but now and again there are complaints from specialists against it. I do not understand why there should be such a strong objection to the re-introduction of these subjects. Nor do I understand what marvellous virtue there is in six or seven prose or poetic books or parts of books in two languages and in a short course in mathematics which those subjects have not and which renders it necessary that every student should go through them. Why should we not have special education from the beginning ? Why is a second language, which is often a dead language, necessary ? But the specialist is not prepared to go so far, though if he is consistent, I think, he should. We have seen that very often we do not, by having a great many optional groups, encourage special talent, and the effect is that students go into the world with a sort of education which has not fitted them for grappling with certain problems that come up before them and which notwithstanding they have to grapple with. I do not mean to say that the mere inclusion of these subjects into the necessary course will effect the object I aim at. Nearly everything depends upon the sort of teachers we have in those subjects and of examiners. The teacher should accustom his pupils to think and trace effects to their causes, and it is the duty of an examiner to find out whether they have been so taught. But I cannot say that in both these respects things are in a satisfactory condition. Great is the responsibility of those who make appointments to professorships and to examinerships, but with reference to the latter, on behalf of the University, I can only regret that there is such a narrow and unpromising field for selection.

Another point on which, with your permission, I wish to make a few remarks this evening is that concerning the course of general education that is necessary fot a candidate for a professional degree. The idea of those who gave shape to our University appears clearly to have been that a general education up to the B. A. standard was wanted. Hence they laid down

the rule that a candidate for LL. B. and M. C. E. should be a Bachelor of Arts. But in the early days of the University the number of B. A.s was very small and even that of those who passed the Matriculation examination, and the course of medical education extended over five years and that of civil engineering over three. They, therefore, conceived the idea of granting a sort of license to those students of medicine and civil engineering who were qualified for their particular profession, but were not qualified for a degree. As, however, they considered it inconsistent with the dignity of a University to issue licenses, they gave the name ot degrees to the licenses they issued in medicine and civil engineering, and thus we came to have the degrees of Licentiates of Medicine and of Civil Engineering. In law, however, such a necessity was not felt, and and the B. A. qualification was adhered to. But since the time when the rules were promulgated the number of successful candidates at the several examinations in Arts have vastly increased, and while we had 39 candidates who passed the Matriculation in 1862, we have now about 800 or 900 passing every year. In 1862 there were only four B. A.s; we have now between 100 and 150, and at the Previous Examination we have between 160 and 240 successful candidates; and at the 1st B. A. more then 150. The time, therefore, for carrying out the idea of the founders of our University, in a modified shape at least, has long since arrived; and the engineering faculty has raised the standard of qualification from the Matriculation to the Previous examination. But the medical faculty has been discussing the question for nine years without coming to any conclusion. It was even proposed or resolved that, instead of the Licentiate of Medicine, we should have the more dignified degree of Bachelor of Medicine, and for this at least it was hoped that all medical members of the Senate would agree in requiring a higher standard of general education; but even for that the majority in the Senate would have nothing more than the Matriculation. The sister Universities of Calcutta and Madras have raised their preliminary requirement to the First Examination in Arts; but we will have nothing of the

kind." It stands to reason that if a medical man has had a good general education, he is likely to be of greater use; but we do not want him to be a man of general education. This you will admit is a very unsatisfactory condition of things and is unintelligible to my mind. A dead-lock such as this cannot but be a matter of great concern to one who wishes to see self-government flourish in this country, and augurs ill for our future prospects. I earnestly hope, therefore, that wiser counsels will come to prevail, and our medical faculty and the Senate will decide the question in a satisfactory manner. I would propose for their consideration, as a sort of compromise, whether, if they must have the Matriculation for the degree of Licentiate, it would not be advisable to have the Intermediate as a preliminary qualification for the higher degree of M. B. We shall thus have three medical degrees corresponding with three stages in general education, that of Licentiate with the Matriculation, the M. B. with the Intermediate, and the M. D. with B. A. The field of choice will thus be comprehensive, and the candidate may choose one of the three according to his own capacities and means.

The character of our Senate and the debates carried on by it have a good deal changed since I first became acquainted with the body. In those days a very small number of Fellows attended the meetings, but they were men who took very great interest in educational matters and were alive to the responsibility of their position. There were only, if I remember right, about twelve fellows present when such an important question as the introduction of Persian as a second languag at the higher examination in Arts was discussed and that language added to the list from which it had before been excluded on account of its being a vernacular. Now we have a larger number of fellows on the roll, and a larger number take interest in University matters. This is as it should be. If, however, instead of being guided by cold reason and acting with a sense of responsibility, the Senate becomes a democratic assembly, carried away by

emotion and impulse, the change must certainly be a matter for regret.

Our University is but an examining body, and its function, like that of a mint, is confined to assaying the silver, perhaps the gold, of the intellectual acquisitions of our young men, according to certain standards, and stamping it with the letters B. A., M. A., M. D., &c. Such an idea of a University is no doubt in keeping with the spirit of the age in which machinery has received such a high development. But this is neither the primary, nor a degnified, nor a fruitful idea of a University. A University, in my opinion, ought to be a body of men devoted to learning, engaged in the pursuit of truth, carrying on researches and investigations, and communicating their knowledge to others by educating young men and by the publication of books and papers. Such a body should have a healthy public opinion of its own, the influence of which every one of its members, whether a teacher or an examiner, should feel, and which should compel him to do his duty faithfully and conscientiously. Looking to the manner in which the work in the departments both of instruction and examination has been done for a great many years, I have long felt the necessity of such a public opinion as the only remedy for the many defects that are observable. But it is a question whether we shall ever be able to realise this idea in India. In the first place our colleges are scattered over the whole Presidency and cannot on this account influence each other. The learning and the knowledge that we aim at are, and must necessarily be, what might be called European learning and European knowledge, and the methods of investigation, research, and education are European. Consequently, Europeans must form a very large and predominant element of such an institution. But the European prefessors and teachers that come out feel themselves as exiles in this country and have got no permanent stake in it. They can hardly, therefore, be expected to take pride in such an institution as I have been thinking of and contribute to its formation. Hence it is that, though we have had European professors and teachers here

now for more than half a century, not a single work of a nature to make its mark in the world has been published by any one of them, except the German professors of Oriental Languages. And as to the natives of the country, they, too, have shown no zeal or ardour in the pursuit of knowledge. Our graduates after leaving the University often forget all about the subjects to which they were introduced while at college; and if in any case they continue to take interest in them, it is but of a languid nature. It must be said, however, on their behalf that the first thing they must think of is getting on in the world, and perhaps the avocation which they have to follow with that view allows them little time for pursuit of knowledge. What is necessary then is that in connection with the University we should have some endowments in the nature of fellowships or professorships to be held by the natives. Germany is the country in Europe which is known to be foremost in carrying on original research in all branches of knowledge, and this has beeen attributed to the fact that it was cut up into a great many little states, and continues in a great measure to be so cut up. Each of the states made it a point to have a University of its own with its usual complement of professors and the country has thus come to have many such Universities, and a great many men devoted enthusiastically to study and research. But what is the possibility of our having such professorships, fellowships, or studentships? There are many and important calls on the public exchequer on account of which it does not appear likely that Government will institute them, though it behoves a paternal Government to direct its attention to this branch of educational work also. But Government have at their disposal a fund which might be used for this purpose. The late Mr. E. I. Howard, Director of Public Instruction, who has left his permanent stamp on the Department of Public Instruction, saw the necessity of such professorships or studentships and got the Government to put into his hands the Dakṣiṇā Fund. He thereupon created certain appointments, which he called fellowships—a name which shows what his idea was; and he often expressed that idea by saying that his object

was to encourage the pursuit of learning among the natives of this country. He, therefore, did not lay down a certain period for which a fellowship was tenable, and our early Dakṣiṇā fellows held their appointments for five or six years and might have held them longer if they had wished. But since his time the idea has been lost sight of, and the Dakṣiṇā fellowships have been, to all intents and purposes, converted into scholarships, tenable for a year or two, ostensibly to enable the Bachelors of Arts to study for the M. A. degree, which, however, they are not compelled to do. But there is nothing to prevent us from retracing our steps and the Dakṣiṇā Fund might still be used for the institution of fellowships or studentships in connection with the University with a monthly allowance varying from Rs. 150 to Rs. 250. I am sure we shall then have a few men at least determined to devote their life to study and research. But the Dakṣiṇā Fund can go but a little way; and the means that are wanted for this purpose must principally come from our rich citizens themselves. Scholarships and prizes we have got in abundance. What is now wanted is studentships or fellowships of the kind I mention; and the merchant princes of Bombay will truly immortalise themselves and entitle themselves to the permanent gratitude of their countrymen if they endow them. Five or six thousand rupees are sufficient for a scholarship, wherefore the credit derived from such a gift is but little. But a fellowship, from the very fact that a large amount is required and that it alone will be the means of promoting the growth of knowledge in the country, will remain a standing monument of the generosity and public spirit of the citizen who endows it.

But such as our University is, it has been the means of promoting education in the Presidency and, through it, of doing a great deal of good generally. Had it not been for such a central establishment as ours that lays down what boys and young men shall be taught, sees that they have been taught it, and issues certificates to that effect, education would not have received the expansion it has. At the same time it is quite clear

that such an expansion would not have been possible had there been no openings for our graduates in the public service and the professions. In 1862 there were only 4 B. A.s. Now the number on the M. A. list is 106, and that on the B. A. list is 1,339; and if we add the 183 that have passed this year, the total number of graduates in Arts is 1,628. Besides we have 35 Bachelors of Science, which brings it up to 1663. Of these 378, inclusive of the 31 who have passed this year, are Bachelors of Law. They are either employed in the Judicial Service of Government or are pleaders. In both capacities they have greatly contributed to raise the tone of the administration of justice. I remember in my younger days to have, in my native district, constantly heard murmurs against the conduct of the munsiffs or subordinate judges of those days; but they have all ceased now. A few graduates have got entrance into the Revenue Service, and from all the information I have I am in a position to state that there also their work is satisfactory. Nearly the whole of the higher branch of the Educational Department is conducted by graduates. The greater the number of educated men that find entrance into the services, the better will it be in the interests of good government. It is not enough that the statesmen at the helm of affairs and the great officers immediately under them should be disinterested persons desirous of nothing but the good of the people. The agency they employ for carrying out their orders and for the performance of the details of the administration must be as good as it can be made. Our immediate governors, with whom it rests to make our life miserable or happy, are the Patils, the Kulkarnis, the Talatis, the Mahalkaris, the Mamlatdars and their Karkuns, the Police Chief Constables and Inspectors, the petty Magistrates and the Subordinate Judges. For the purposes of good government in a country where the masses are uneducated and ignorant it is, in my humble opinion, of the highest importance that these should, as far as possible, be men of education and principle. On the list of medical graduates we have five Doctors of Medicine and 438 Licentiates of Medicine, inclusive of the men who have passed this

year; in all 443. Some of these are employed in the service of Government, and a few in Native States; but a good many are engaged in private practice. It is only in Bombay and some of the larger towns in the districts that our medical graduates find private practice; but in Bombay the field is now overcrowded. European medicine has not yet found favour with the masses, and the condition of our medical graduates is anything but satisfactory. On the list of the graduates in Civil Engineering we have one Master and 311 Licentiates inclusive of this year's men. Most of those are employed in the Public Works Department, on the railways, and in Native States. A few are engaged in private practice; but there is no extensive field for it.

On our list all the literary classes or castes of Hindus are represented; and there are a few from what are called the backward classes. The Parsis have, as may be expected from their usual energy, taken the fullest advantage of the benefits of the University, considering that they form such a small part of the population of the Presidency. The only important community that still remains backward is that of the Mahomedans. There are not more than about 20 on the list of graduates in Arts. Up to this time we have had one Mahomedan M. A. only, and it is a gratifying circumstance that we have got another this year. In Bombay we have a large and influential Mahomedan community, but its members are engaged in trade and commerce; and, as a rule, Indians, whether Hindus or Mahomedans, who have an opening in this sphere for their sons do not care to give them higher education. The Deccan Mahomedans, like the Deccani Hindus, have no genius for trade or commerce, but somehow they do not come forward as their Hindu brethren do. In my opinion it behoves the leading and influential members of the Mahomedan community here and in the mofussil to make strenuous endeavours to bring up their co-religionists. The assistance of other communities might be asked and will, I suppose, be given. A large number of scholarships, not less than 100, to be held by Mahomedans in High Schools and

Colleges should be instituted. If it will take a long time to raise a sufficient fund to be invested for the purpose, a beginning should be made by making annual contributions. Let us show that we possess public spirit and will help ourselves. If we bring forward Mahomedans in this way, they will be represented on our University lists in due proportion and will take their places side by side with the Hindus in the public service and in the professions in a corresponding proportion.

But, gentlemen, though our University has thus been successfully discharging its duty, there are certain points which it is urgently necessary that our graduates should carefully bear in mind in order that they may be as useful as they might be to the Government of the country, promote the general interests of the community, and contribute towards the regeneration of India. And to these, with your permission, I will now devote a few minutes, addressing my remarks to my brother graduates. An undergraduate of the University, after he has finished his course and taken his degree, claims to be called an educated man. The Sanskrit word that corresponds to the word educated is " śiṣta, " and according to the old Hindu idea a " śiṣta " is, in the words of the great grammarian Patañjali, a man who does not store up wealth (literally one who keeps so much grain only as is contained in a jar), who is not greedy, and who disinterestedly, without any further object, acquires perfect proficiency in some branch of learning. The idea, therefore, is that he who devotes himself to the pursuit of knowledge or truth for its own sake and disdains mere worldly prosperity is a man of education or culture. To deserve this title, therefore, it will not do for undergraduates to study their books and subjects only with a view to the degree examinations and in a manner to achieve success. It will not do for them to choose their optional subjects only because the examination in them is likely to be easy. They should take a real and lively interest in the books they read and the subjects they study, and choose their optional course only because they have a predilection for it.

With a sincere and humble desire to know and to improve, they should endeavour to find and appreciate the good that their books place before them, appropriate it, and make it a part of their own nature. Mere success at an examination and the acquisition of a degree, and through its means the improvement of one's worldly prospects, are not very high motives, and are certainly unworthy of any thoughtful man, and especially of the descendants of those who disdained riches to be able to devote themselves single-heartedly to knowledge and truth. At the same time to deserve this title of śiṣṭa or educated it will not do for one who has got his degree to think that his work is accomplished and that he has nothing more to do with books or knowledge. An educated native should continue through his life to take interest in the great subjects of knowledge which occupy the attention of man, and should go on closely watching the progress of ideas in Europe, where, of course, there is greater movement of thought than in our country. He will forfeit his claim to be considered a man of culture, if he chooses to be ignorant of what the progressive nations of the West are thinking, doing and admiring. But in the course of our progress in this lifelong education we are likely, in consequence of our previous antecedents, to misunderstand and misapply European ideas. Against such misunderstanding and misapplication we have to guard ourselves. For instance, the idea of self-respect, personal independence, national independence, liberty of speech, and patriotism are constantly brought to our notice, and there is evidence that a good many of our men do not understand their proper limitations. Self-respect and personal independence often degenerate into disrespect for others, and want of reverence for those who, by their position, knowledge or even age, deserve it from us. Such a degeneration can only have the effect of degrading a man's character. Self-respect ought to come into operation only then, when a low worldly motive is about to lead you to do a mean or an unrighteous act, and prevent you from doing it. Personal independence ought to be exhibited only then, when the importunity of others or

the fear of displeasing them prevents you from saying and doing what, after a careful inquiry, you have come to believe to be undoubtedly true, and lead you to say it or do it. National independence you can have only when there is a nation and it has the capacity of governing itself. But when the inhabitants of a country are divided into a number of separate communities or castes hostile to each other, national independence can only mean the possession by one community or one caste of power over others which it must, of course, use for its own benefit and to the detriment of others. And when the country has never had in the course of its history a training in free or representative institutions or never been animated with a desire for them or had even a conception of them, national independence must mean the tyranny of one man over all others. In the same manner liberty of speech and all kinds of liberty have their limits, which it is of great importance always to bear in mind. You cannot speak what you like or act as you like simply because you are free or possess liberty. Liberty of speech means that one should not be prevented from speaking what, after a careful examination, one has found to be unmistakably true and which it is good in the interest of the community that one should speak. If, however, you say something against an individual or a body of individuals because they are obnoxious to you, without any inquiry and without even a decent knowledge of the matter with reference to which you are criticizing him or them, it is an absolute misuse of the liberty of speech which cannot but promote ill-feeling, foment quarrels, and eventually bring on ruin. Similarly, liberty of action implies that one should not be prevented from doing what one's conscience approves or imposes on him as a duty. If, however, conscience or sense of duty is set aside and a man, under the influence of any of his lower passions, acts in a manner to do harm or injustice to others, he is not a man who is free, but is a slave of his passions, and will have to be prevented in certain cases from being so by the laws of the community.

The idea of patriotism, which is constantly brought up before our minds by English literature and history, is in the same manner liable to be very greatly misunderstood and misapplied. One may think patriotism requires him to hate foreigners because they are foreigners, to run down their manners, customs, and institutions, to attribute vices to them which they do not possess, and deny their most manifest virtues and all the good that they actually do. On the other hand it may be considered to consist in praising one's ancestors and one's own people, admiring their manners, customs and institutions, and denying their manifest failings and the patent defects of their character. This is the patriotism of feeble minds incapable of thought and action. And eventually it resolves itself into a confirmed enmity for one's own people. For if people do not see the good that there is in foreigners, they are incapable of learning; if they do not see their own serious faults and defects and the evil that there is in their manners, customs, and institutions, there can be no improvement, no progress; and the nation must lag behind while others are going on, and must suffer. He only is a true patriot who, with an unprejudiced mind and with the light that God has vouchsafed to him, examines the manners, customs, and institutions of his country and the character of his people, fearlessly exposes the abuses or evils he may find therein, and earnestly calls upon them to reform and improve even at the risk of offending them and being stoned by them. Again, one ought to be a patriot in reality and not in name merely; for if he is a true patriot, he must be prepared to sacrifice his time, money, convenience, interests and even reputation for the good of his country. But if he is good only for talking and slowly retires when called upon to undergo self-sacrifice, when he will work only in matters where he is praised by his countrymen and will stand at a convenient distance from others, which, howsoever beneficial to them, offend their prejudices, he is but a self-seeking patriot. Again, in politics patriotism generally aims at national independence. But I have already pointed out what national

independence can only mean in the case of a country divided into communities and castes in chronic hostility with each other and unused to, or unacquainted with, free institutions. An Indian patriot must recognize the great forces in operation in the world. Asia is being divided among themselves by three great European Powers, and in the contest, from the character and peculiar civilization of its people, Asia is nowhere. We ought to consider ourselves peculiarly fortunate in having fallen into the hands of a nation that has a conscience. England would be ashamed of herself if she held India solely for the purpose of her own aggrandizement. She has consciously undertaken the function of civilizing India, and of this our University is one of the many evidences available. She has given an orderly and stable government to the counry; destroyed the Thugs, Pindaries, and Dacoits; allowed to every man the right to live and enjoy his earnings, which no one, howsoever high his position, can transgress; and given us the benefits of the inventions of the nineteenth century,—railways, telegraphs, a highly organized post office, and so on. The material or mechanical resources of England are vast. The intellect of a European, especially of Western Europe, is ever wakeful, ever active. Every new idea is grasped, examined from all points of view, and it fructifies. Improvements in the processes of manufacture of all kinds, from that of fire matches to that of guns, ships of war, and spinning and weaving machinery, are constantly going on. And above all, the Englishman possesses immense powers of organization; he is ever diligent and watchful; his work is always methodical and systematic; he is animated by an over-powering sense of national duty; and he maintains perfect discipline in everything. I say " above all, " for it was by these qualities that he succeeded in establishing an empire in India, before he had steamships, railways, electric telegraphs, and powerful guns and other arms of precision. A wise Indian patriot, therefore, will take pride in the fact that this country forms a very important member of the Empire over which the sun never sets, and that India is one of the brightest jewels, if not the brightest, in the British Crown.

The glories of that Empire he should regard as his glories and its misfortunes to be his misfortunes. We are the inhabitants of Greater Britain, i. e. of the larger section of Britain, the smaller section of which is situated in North-Western Europe; and our political patriotism should centre itself round that name. Therein lies our salvation. The world is moving towards higher political unities. And a higher unity has been formed in the shape of the British Empire; and there can be no disruption of that unity as long as Englishmen are what they are, nor can there be the remotest desire for it so long as Indians are thoughtful and wise. There may be some points in the policy pursued in the government of the country and some acts which are conceived more in the interests of England than of India. There may be grievances and individual cases of oppression. But we have got the right of petition and the liberty of speech. This right and this liberty should, however, be used in the manner I have already indicated. Care should be taken to study the particular question and ascertain the truth about it, to say nothing that is not true, and to ascribe no evil motive; and general denunciations, of which unfortunately we find so many, ought strictly to be avoided. We may even ask for powers and privileges. But before we do so we should take care to qualify ourselves for their exercise. We should learn to use them in the interests of the community at large, and rise superior to all considerations about self, caste, or clique. Nothing but a sense of duty to the general public should actuate us in the exercise of the powers and privileges that may be granted to us. At the same time we should endeavour to form habits of working in an orderly and methodical manner. If those powers and privileges have, in the first instance, to be exercised by the masses of the people, they ought to be made to understand what they mean; they ought to be taught that they have certain interests as a community which it is their duty to promote by a just and faithful exercise of those powers and privileges, and educated into a desire for them. If we bestow no thought upon such matters and go on asking, we shall simply be wasting breath. And as to the

powers and privileges already granted to us, if we use them for advancing our private interests or those of our clique or caste and will not do the work they entail regularly, we shall make ourselves the enemies of our country instead of patriots. For there will thus be misgovernment, and the British authorities will take away what they have granted, or at least cease to grant more, and our future prospects will be destroyed. Whenever a native misuses a privilege or a power, there ought, therefore, to be a strong public opinion among us which will condemn him and prevent further misuse.

I have thus briefly discussed the manner in which some of the ideas to which we are introduced are, or may be, misunderstood and abused. We should guard ourselves against such a misunderstanding and such an abuse, and treasure up in our hearts the words of the great sage of Chelsea, addressed to the students of the Edinburgh University, on the true objects of education. "You are ever to bear in mind," says he, "that there lies behind that (mere positive and technical knowledge) the acquisition of what may be called wisdom—namely, sound appreciation and just decision as to all the objects that come round you, and the habit of behaving with justice, candour, clear insight, and loyal adherence to fact. Great is wisdom; infinite is the value of wisdom. It cannot be exaggerated, it is the highest achievement of man. 'Blessed is he that getteth understanding.' And that, I believe, on occasion may be missed very easily: never more easily than now, I sometimes think. If that is a failure, all is failure!" Let us then endeavour to acquire this highest achievement of man, this wisdom, by means of the education we receive, by what European literature and history teach us. If we do not do so, rest assured all will be failure, as the prophet tells us.

One of the ideas which is calculated to lead us to wisdom, and which, in recent times, has been exercising such a powerful influence over the European mind and leading Europeans to

study with a sympathetic spirit the literature, the history, and the religion of our country and the other countries in the world, even the thoughts and ideas of savages, is the unity of the human race. We should learn to sympathize with the joys and griefs of men of all races, study watchfully the conflict and progress of ideas among them and their gradual advance from barbarism to the height of civilization, and from the elevated standpoint thus gained, and with our national prejudices thus cleared off, look back upon the history of our race, trace with an unbiassed mind its progress towards civilization and observe the phenomenon of its stagnancy, or, more truly, its decline and degradation. It will then be our duty strenuously to endeavour to eradicate the causes of that decline and that degradation. My friends, we are living in a momentous period in the history of India. Upon our conduct at this period depends the future of our country. The Indian intellect has been dormant for centuries. Original thought disappeared with the old Ṛṣis; the fermentation of religious and philosophic ideas ceased with the decline of Buddhism; philosophy became verbose and wasted itself in trifling subtleties; poetry assumed an artificial character; religion degenerated into forms, ceremonies, and superstitions; and custom became a hideous tyrant and brought in female infanticide, the burning alive of widows, the marriage of a hundred or a hundred and fifty girls to one man, the degradation of womankind, hook-swinging, &c., &c.; and there was no moral force in the land to do battle with these evils. It was reserved for the foreigner to put some of them down with the strong arm of the law; but in the cases in which the foreigner will not interfere they still flourish. The intellect and the moral sense of the country must now wake up under the influence of European civilization, and the task and heavy responsibility of regenerating her has devolved upon ourselves, who have felt the influence. Thought on every subject of interest to humanity must be stimulated, literature and philosophy have a fresh start, our vernaculars be improved, and a desire for knowledge be propagated. The great iniquities and falsehoods of our social

institutions and customs must be corrected, the standard of practical morality raised, tastes improved, higher ideals placed before the people, and religion purified and reformed. If we have truly assimilated the idea of patriotism, if the feeling has really sprung up in our hearts, here is a legitimate field for its exercise. But if we neglect it entirely, or are very lukewarm about it, and confine our activity to the political sphere, the least that can be said about the matter is that our patriotism is not the genunine but a counterfeit article. And we shall cut the ground from under our feet; for, from what I have already said, you will see that there can be no political advancement without social and moral advancement. In this process of regeneration the ideas or principles, which alone will guide us safely, are sense of duty, love of truth, and love of justice. The education we receive will have to be considered merely superficial if it does not enable us to grasp these principles. These, therefore, I earnestly implore you to learn thoroughly and incorporate with your internal spirit. Not only will they elevate the individual character, but they alone will ensure the future happiness of our race. For, social arrangements, manners, and customs then only conduce to the happiness and prosperity of a nation, when they are based upon truth and justice. One of the greatest historians of England, who denies that history is a science which will enable us to predict the results of particular deeds, as the astronomer predicts an eclipse, still acknowledges that "one lesson and only one history may be said to repeat with distinctness; that the world is built semehow on moral foundations; that in the long run, it is well with the good; in the long run, it is ill with the wicked." And further on he says more forcibly and eloquently, "First, it (history) is a voice for ever sounding across the centuries the laws of right and wrong. Opinions alter,

manners change, creeds rise and fall, but the moral law is written on the tablets of eternity. For every false word or unrighteous deed, for cruelty and oppression, for lust or vanity, the price has to be paid at last, not always by the chief offenders, but paid by some one. Justice and truth alone endure and live. Injustice and falsehood may be long-lived, but doomsday comes at last to them, in French revolutions and other terrible ways." There, gentlemen, must all discussion and dispute end, and there will I end.

REJOINDER TO MR. JUSTICE RANADE

[FROM THE BOMBAY GAZETTE, BOMBAY, APRIL, 1894]

The late Mr. Justice Ranade criticised in an address delivered at the Eighth Annual General Meeting of the Bombay Graduates' Association some of the conclusions arrived at in the Convocation Address. The following is the reply of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, dated Lonavala, 24th April 1894.

Sir,—The position and influence of the Honourable Mr. Justice Ranade render it necessary that against my usual practice I should notice his criticism on my Convocation address. Mr. Ranade discovers an undertone of pessimism in what I said. In private conversation also he has again and again denounced me as a pessimist. But I am unable to find the reason. What I have been doing during the last seven or eight years is to call attention to the defects and shortcomings of my countrymen and the erroneous notions prevailing among them, imploring them to endeavour to get over them as a necessary preliminary to all progress and tell them that without the acquisition of certain virtues and without a reform of our social Institutions real political advance is impossible. Beyond this I can find no justification of Mr. Ranade's use of that epithet in my case. But there is no reason why I should complain. On the contrary, I should feel myself highly honoured by Mr. Ranade's speaking of me as a pessimist. For in the course of a lecture delivered by him in connection with the anniversary of the Prarthana Samaj, about a fortnight ago, Mr. Ranade told his audience that Carlyle and Ruskin were pessimists. A pessimist then is one who hates cant and convention, and preaches sincerity, fidelity to truth, and action as opposed to talk ; for that is what Carlyle and Ruskin do. But Mr. Justice Ranade warned his hearers against Carlyle and Ruskin as unsuited to our weak constitution, however suited they might be to the sturdier races that inhabit the British Isles. This I am unable to understand,

Such a scientist as Tyndall acknowledges with gratitude the healthy moral influence exercised over him by Carlyle, saying it was his teaching that roused him to action. Principal Selby observed in the course of a lecture that he delivered to his pupils the other day that Carlyle, Ruskin, and Wordsworth were his favourite authors, meaning thereby to recommend them to their attention.

Perhaps Mr. Justice Ranade does not like my plain-speaking, for he is reported to have said at the lecture alluded to above that " a wise doctor never revealed to his patient the danger of illness he suffered from; though some thought that truth was truth and must always be told ". This constitutes the radical difference between us. But what surprises me greatly is that Mr. Ranade should see that his doctrine is based on the most hopeless pessimism. For the comparison implies that India is suffering from a dangerous disease that must terminate fatally. But if she is suffering from a disease which is curable, but may become dangerous if she does not carefully attend to the directions of the doctor, can the doctor be called wise who will not warn her and impress upon her the paramount necessity of carefully observing his directions, if she wishes to live but will go on telling her that she is in sound health, equal to any kind of exertion and may conduct her as she wishes? If I believed that India was suffering from a disease of the former kind, I would pass my days in the saddest silence. But I believe she is suffering from a disease of the latter kind; and hence my efforts to warn her and to point out the remedies. This is what I have done in my Convocation address; and the directions there given might be shortly summed up in the words: " Follow Carlyle and Ruskin, and you will be saved ".

I will now proceed to the main points discussed by Mr. Ranade. He says I did not attribute the disproportionately large mortality among the Hindus to " the strain of studies in the University curriculum ". This is not correct. I did attri-

bute. Again, he says, I was "of opinion that they (the evil results) were not due to any overstrain of studies and examinations". I was not and did not say I was. On the contrary, I endeavoured to make out that the education we received did impose a heavy strain upon us, from which our fathers and grand-fathers were free. And I said that the strain in the ordinary walks of life was also heavy in consequence of our having come in contact with a more energetic race. I admitted the strain, but, unlike Mr. Ranade and others., I did not propose the reduction of the standards, as that would mean the giving of degrees to men with only a semblance of education; but, finding from a comparison of the mortality among the different classes of graduates that the Parsees stood the strain very well, I advised the Hindus to live like the Parsees, and affirmed that a thorough change in their social ideas and customs would alone enable the Hindus to bear the strain. And I do not know how men who advocate a reduction in the standards can with consistency ask Government to hold the Civil Service Examination in India. The course of study for that examination is certainly more difficult than that for the B. A. degree, and is as hard as, if not harder than, that for the M. A. examinatian. Our best B. A.s have, when they happen to go England, to place themselves for one or two years under a professional crammer and even then get a low place in the pass list. Our only way, therefore, is to fit ourselves for the strain which the higher education imposes, and not ask that the strain be reduced. If Mr. Ranade thinks that the real evil lies in the University curriculum, he ought to have faced that vital question, and given us his solution of it instead of contenting himself with a general allusion to the pass degree of the English Universities. He has not made any specific proposals as to how the standard should be reduced. The only definite thing that he and persons who think with him have got to say is that candidates who fail in certain subjects should be examined in the following year in those subjects only. But if we examine our death list we shall, I think, find that a

great many on that list were not plucked at all at any examination; so that, supposing the change were not objectionable in other respects, it would by no means operate as a far-reaching remedy.

Since the lowest percentage of deaths among the Parsee graduates is the point on which my argument for social change hinges, Mr. Justice Ranade's great effort is directed towards making out that the Parsees have no advantage over the Hindus in this respect, and these do not die in larger numbers. But since Mr. Ranade has also been an advocate of social reform, he endeavours to clear himself from a possible misunderstanding as regards his attitude towards that question, and asserts that if he is going to prove that the Parsees have no superiority over the Hindus, it is only because "no useful purpose is served by imperfect generalizations". He also thinks it unfortunate that I should have confined my inquiries to the first eighteen years of the existence of the University. But let us look into the question more closely in order to find out whether Mr. Ranade's generalizations or mine have a sounder basis, and whether the principle of confining one's inquiry to a certain number of years is not the only true principle in the case. Mr. Ranade himself says that some only of our graduates died immediately after taking their degree, but the majority lived till they were about thirty-five, that being their average age at the time of death. They thus lived for about ten years after they took their degree. In so taking the matter, Mr. Ranade supposes them to have left the University at the age of twenty-five. But B. A.s leave when they are about twenty or twenty-one; though M. A.s stay till they are about twenty-five. We will take twelve or thirteen as the number of years for which they lived after taking their degree. This means that the University poison, to adopt a medical phrase, takes about 12 years to operate after it has been introduced into the system. If so, in order to estimate the percentage of deaths caused by it, we should take into consideration only the number of graduates on whom it has been operating for more than twelve years, and leave out the rest. For in

the case of these latter the poison has not had its assigned time in which to operate. Mr. Ranade's procedure, therefore, of taking all graduates up to the last year must lead to fallacious results. I have excluded graduates of the last thirteen years, and therefore mine must be the correct principle. Of course since all these calculations are more or less rough, I must have excluded those of the last twelve, eleven or even ten years, instead of those of thirteen years; but the result would not have been materially different. Then again the other principle introduced by Mr. Ranade is equally based on a radical error. He states that the general health statistics give the rate of mortality to be thirty per thousand between the age limits of twenty and forty, and since the University rate exceeds this, it is unquestionable that the University kills men. Now, the University rate cannot at all be compared with the general outside rate. For this latter is arrived at by taking a certain number of men at the age of twenty, observing them till they (the same men) become forty years old, and finding how many of them have died during the time. But in arriving at the University rate Mr. Ranade has not observed the same men from the age limit of twenty to that of forty; some of his men are forty years of age, others thirty-nine, thirty-eight etc., down to twenty. To be able to compare the two rates, Mr. Ranade ought to have taken the graduates of a certain year and observe them till they became forty years old, and not taken different graduates of different ages. In the case of the general outside rate, you have the same men at different ages, while in the case of the University rate you have different men at different ages. Thus then, though of course we believe that the strain of University studies does injure men's health, the matter has not at all been proved by Mr. Justice Ranade.

But though the statistical results arrived at by Mr. Ranade are vitiated by the radical error shown above, they point in the same direction as mine. The death-rate among Parsee B. A.s is three per cent., among Gujarathis five, and Marathas 9·2,

while the rate among graduates generally is four, five and ten respectively. Mr. Ranade shirks from the obvious inference that arises. He dwells for some time on the apparent advantages which the Gujarathis enjoy as regards some of the courses in some of the faculties, and which are principally due to their smaller numbers, where, as I have observed, the operation of a law does not become manifest, quietly neglecting the fact that they are two-thirds worse than the Parsees in the B. A. list (the percentages being five and three), while in any more limited B. A. list, they are a little more than once worse ; asserts that the general rates, 4, 5 and 10 are reproduced in the B. A. rates, though these are 3, 5 and 9·2, i. e. that there is no difference between the three of the Parsees here and four there; and observes in explanation of the more favourable rate in the case of the Parsees : "The general rate for the Parsees is lowered by the very large number of Parsee Garduates". What Mr. Justice Ranade means by this it is difficult to understand. Is it an arithmetical law that he wishes here to enunciate, viz., the larger the divisor, the smaller the quotient that we get? If so, what can be the use of such a statement here? He should give a social, economic, sanitary, or educational reason for it; but instead of that he gives an arithmetical reason. All this shows that the spirit in which Mr. Ranade approaches the question is anything but scientific; similarly, he says with reference to the Maratha graduate that " if these specially unfortunate deaths (60 out of 102) are excluded, the mortality rate among the Marathas would be as favourable as the Gujarathi graduates show ", that is to say, if these sixty Marathas had not died, the death-rate among the Maratha Graduates would have been the same as among the Gujarathis, and if the divisor in the case of the Parsees had not been large, the Gujarathis would have been equally well off with the Parsees. This simply shows Mr. Ranade's desire to arrive at the conclusion that the Parsees were not better off than the Marathas and Gujarathis, and thus to show the groundlessness of my reasoning about the necessity

of Social reform, but it also shows that he has failed in the attempt, the facts being inexorable. And this is the case, notwithstanding that he included *all the younger* graduates upon whom the strain had not yet produced its effects.

The rest of Mr. Justice Ranade's address is similarly made up. He misunderstands me, makes me say what I did not mean to say, and then refutes me. For instance, while speaking on the question of the University becoming a body of men devoted to learning and carrying on original investigations and researches I said that the European Professors had not contributed to the formation of such a body, nor the Native graduates, who, if they continue to take interest in certain subjects, did it in a languid manner. Against this Mr. Ranade brings ten per cent of graduates, most of whom have confined their literary efforts to the translation of a play or two from Shakespeare, or another small English work or a Sanskrit work and to the publication of stray articles or essays in a magazine or newspaper. Can all this be by any stretch of sense called carrying on investigations and researches? Is the interest taken not languid even on Mr. Ranade's showing? I have even excused this want of devotion to learning by saying that the avocation which graduates must follow leaves them little time for literary pursuits, and proposed the institution of Fellowships. From Mr. Ranade's way of meeting the point, it would appear that Fellowships are unnecessary, since ten per cent of our graduates have already devoted themselves to learning and original research and made our Universities a body of learned men. Similarly, with reference to my remarks on the poverty of students Mr. Justice Ranade says I have evaded the difficulty. He, however, does not appear to have met it or suggested any remedies. He has only dwelt longer on the subject, and said some fine things about it. But I proceed to tell the parents that they should care more for the education of their sons than for their marriage and spend what they have got or what they borrow on the former rather than the latter. And no one will deny that the average

Hindu parent attaches far greater importance to the marriage of his son than to his education and makes greater sacrifices for it than for the other.

In the paragraph in which Mr. Justice Ranade brings together the lessons to be derived from his discourse he puts down enforced bachelorship up to the completion of studies as the highest remedy, and uses language a great deal similar to that which I have used. This is very surprizing after the long and elaborate effort made to prove that University strain and poverty alone kill our graduates, in the course of which not the remotest allusion is made to bad social arrangements as even a partial source of the evil, or better social arrangements as calculated to avert it. There are a good many other points worthy of notice, such as the University extension question, and the proposal about a sort of an acadamy, both of which I consider thoroughly impracticable ; but the letter has already grown long and I must stop.

THE ENDS AND AIMS OF COLLEGE EDUCATION

Being the substance of an Address delivered on the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Removal of the Deccan College, Poona, to its present building. Originally published by the Cheap Literature Committee of the Theistic Association of Bombay,—1893.

On the 23rd of March 1868 the old Poona College was removed to this very commodious and beautiful building and called the Deccan College. This event you have recently conceived the idea of commemorating and I think very properly. For by being removed to this building, the old Poona College was put into a condition to realise, in a more efficient manner, the object of its existence. We should remember this event with joy, but it is not proper that the occasion should be wasted in mere froth and merriment. We should devote a portion of our time to looking back at the way we, as members of the Institution, have traversed in order to find out whether it is the right way, and if we perceive that we have gone astray, we should endeavour to place ourselves on the right way. In other words, this is an occasion when we should seriously consider whether the College has been realising the objects of its existence and if not, think how it may be made to do so better. From his superior ability and the position he occupies I believe the Principal to be the fit and proper person to address you on a matter connected with this subject today, but since the time is nigh when my connection with this College and with education generally shall cease, he has asked me to discharge the duty instead. And though I clearly feel myself to be incompetent for the task, I think I must obey.

The object of the Deccan College and similar institutions is to educate the youths of India. Various views have been expressed as to what education consists in, but I think those which I wish to place before you will not be considered unique. The etymological sense of the word, which is "to lead out,"

will guide us towards the formation of a correct idea. To evoke the faculties of the mind, which, but for the education that is given in such institutions, would lie dormant and to direct their exercise so that they may efficiently serve their purpose, is thus the object of education. In Sanskrit we have the word Vinaya which has the same etymological sense and expresses the training of the feelings and faculties and also the result of the process, viz. a well-ordered or disciplined mind, good manners and humility. There is another word Saṁskāra which means the communication of a certain shape or form to the mind like the shape which an artist gives to the material he employs in order to produce a beautiful object; or that which a mechanic gives to the quantity of matter so as to make it subserve a useful purpose. Training the mind in this way or giving it such a shape or form is the object of education. Young men have to be taught here to have clear ideas before them, to see the connection between them, and to proceed from one connection of ideas to another, that is, to proceed from one proposition to another. They have thus to be taught to reason. We know how confused the ideas of an uneducated man are, what mistakes he makes as to their connection and how incompetent he is to arrive at a correct conclusion from a certain proposition.

But this is not the only object of mental education. You may be able to form clear ideas, see their connection correctly and reason in a faultless manner, but the ideas themselves may be mistaken. The premises you start from may be wrong, and may thus render all your reasoning worthless. Another object of education, therefore, is to teach you to observe correctly, compare and criticise, and arrive at correct premises or notions.

Another object or a kindred objeet is to liberalise the mind; to free it from the narrowness which the antecedents of a man induce into it. Thus, for instance, a bigoted Christian thinks that there can be nothing really good in Non-Christians, and a bigoted Hindu thinks a Christian to be unclean whom it is

defilement to touch. But if by education the mind is raised above the narrow sphere of thought in which it moves, the Christian will see that the Heathen too has got a great deal of good in him and the Hindu, that it is not simply fickle fortune that has raised the European, but that he possesses virtues that deserve his admiration. To place the mind, therefore, on a high platform from which it can look at things as they are, and not with the coloured eyes of pre-possession or prejudice, is an important end to be attained by means of education.

But this does not exhaust all that is sought to be attained by the education of the mind. A young man is introduced to a variety of subjects that are likely to interest him, and these are taught to him in a manner to enable him to make one or more of these the study of his after-life, so that they may be the source of pure pleasure or profit to himself and to the community to which he belongs. Thus then the acquisition of clear ideas, and of the power of observation, comparison and criticism, the freeing of the mind from the narrowness consequent on prepossession or prejudice, and a positive knowledge of certain subjects constitute, I believe, the aim of mental education.

But after all the mind or intellect is but an instrument, and even when the instrument is good, it does not necessarily follow that he who wields it—the inner man—is himself good. The inner man is composed of a variety of feelings and desires which sway the will and from which proceeds action. We are so constituted as to perceive a graduation of worthiness among these various springs of action. The desire, for instance, of pleasure ought not to be allowed to determine a man's will in preference to truth or justice. Selfishness ought not to make us neglect the claims of compassion. A training and a discipline that will make all the springs of action fall into the relative positions assigned to them by the conscience, or the faculty of moral judgment, is the most important of the ends to be attained by education. A man has no right to be called an educated man

if he has not acquired the habit of controlling himself, and shaping his action in accordance with truth and justice or the dictates of an enlightened or cultured conscience.

Now what are the means at the disposal of Colleges such as this of attaining these ends? You are taught Logic here, which will help you to render your ideas clear and to reason correctly. But dry logic alone is insufficient, and therefore treatises on a variety of subjects, the matter contained in which is well reasoned out, are placed in your hands. Even poetry and fiction are calculated to contribute to the same end, since there also you have to observe the connection between one thought and another. You are also taught several subjects calculated to train your mind to observe, compare, and criticise; and there are books which, if you study them carefully, ought to raise your mind above all narrowness. Moreover the subjects themselves, if you approach them with an open mind, cannot fail to be interesting. The efforts recently made with partial success to introduce History, Philosophy, and Physics into your necessary B. A. course had for their object the liberalisation of the mind. As to that other end of education, which I consider by far the most important, viz. the training of the feelings and the desires, that also the course of study through which you are carried is, I believe, calculated to realise. If you study properly the literature that is placed before you of the two languages you have to take up, the end cannot but be accomplished to a certain extent at least. If the feelings of the human heart portrayed by a good poet are really appreciated by you, there cannot but spring up a desire in you to endeavour to realise those feelings in yourselves; and those works of imagination, whether novels or dramatic plays, which represent the struggle of good with evil, virtue with vice, cannot, if read and studied as they ought to be, but enlist your sympathies on the side of what is good. But more than all this, there are to guide you the living examples of some at least of your teachers who possess a high character.

There are, however, it must be confessed, the adverse influences of the society in which we live and move. And to remove you as far as possible from these the idea of having residences for you within the College premises, and more recently for the Professors also, has been carried out. If by such means as this you come into closer contact with your professors and there springs up in your hearts as unfeigned admiration and reverence for them and their character, it cannot fail to produce a very healthy influence on your own character.

And there is another object of education which, though incidental, is by no means less important than those to which I have called your attention. In the College we are introduced to a civilisation and a system of thought which are greatly different from our own. When two varieties of a type present themselves to our observation, they cannot fail to evoke the spirit of comparison and criticism so as to enable us to find out what is essential to the type and what is bad. It is said that a man cannot know his own language well unless he knows another. In the same manner you cannot understand your own civilisation, cannot distinguish its good elements from its bad elements, unless you are acquainted with another. When you are acquainted only with your own manners and customs and your ways of thinking, it is but rarely that a doubt crosses your mind that there may be evil in them. Though, for instance, in the course of time institutions such as child marriage and caste have grown up among us to such an extent that their evil consequences cannot fail to strike an unprepossessed mind, they did not strike us before we became acquainted with a condition of society in which these institutions do not prevail. The effect of such education, therefore, as is given to Young Indians in Colleges such as this ought to be to enable them to compare the manners, the customs, the ideas and the institutions of the flourishing communities of Europe with our own; and to find out the evil that there may be in the latter; and to create in us a desire to eradicate it. Though incidental, I consider this to be

a very important effect of the education we receive. For, unless the evil that there is in our society is in the first place perceived and then removed, there can be no hope that we shall ever rise. In connection with this matter, however, I may note that there are two extremes into which a man may easily fall. He may come to think that every thing in the new civilisation he is introduced to is better and so proceed to adopt it. Such a wholesale adoption, even of manners which are trifling and have no particular significance, argues a shallowness of mind. But on the other hand, not to be awakened to the evil at all argues stupidity or the absence of intellect; while to suppose and declare, out of a mistaken pride, that everything we have is good is pernicious and augurs evil for the future of our community. If a man honestly compares the condition of our society with that of any European nation such as the English, he cannot fail to realise the fact that there is much evil in it from which the other is free. And to declare, notwithstanding, that it is in every way good and requires no change is to cut off all hope of rise. It is a mistaken notion to suppose that there can be a race which will evolve all its civilisation out of its own consciousness. Just as one man learns from another, the history of the world tells us that one race learns from another. The Greeks adopted something from the Phœnicians and Egyptians, and the Romans from the Greeks; while in the civilisation of modern Europe four distinct elements are observable, the Greek, the Roman, the German and the Jewish. And we are no exception to the rule. We too in the olden times adopted a good deal from the Dravidian races, later on from the Greeks and still later from the Arabs. The very dress we wear at the present day is un-Hindu, the two dhotars only being original with us.

Now the question is whether the education we have been receiving in this and other Colleges has been successful and has produced these several effects. That it has produced some good effects, cannot be denied. Our educated men are in many cases able to reason well. They know a great many things of which

their fathers were ignorant. And when placed in positions of power and influence they do credit to themselves. That by the employment of graduates in the Judicial Department the service has improved is an undoubted fact. But often times a doubt crosses my mind and I am reminded of the lesson that the Great Sepoy Revolt of 1857 taught us. On that occasion about 50,000 native soldiers revolted against the British Government and threw off the authority of their commanding officers. These soldiers were disciplined by the British. When they were led against powerful native Princes and chiefs, they achieved invariable success. Even if they had been led against a European foe it is not impossible that they would have been similarly successful. But all this they did, disciplined as they were, only when commanded by British Officers. As soon as they freed themselves from their authority, their discipline stood them in no stead, they became a mob, and were cut to pieces by a handful of British soldiers and in some cases even by civilians. The only small victory that the mutineers achieved was that over General Windham at Kalpee. My doubt therefore is this. May not the good qualities we educated people show when in position of power and trust be due to our continuing to be under British influence as much as to our education? And this doubt is strengthened by the manner in which these same educated natives often conduct themselves when employed in native states. And generally, whether a love of truth and probity, a sense of duty and fearless independence, are in many cases the prominent characteristics of our educated mind, is too more than questionable.

Even as regards mental education I have perceived from a perusal of several University essays and of the articles that appear in the Native press that, although we have acquired the power of correct reasoning, still the *critical and comparative power* which enables us to test our premises, and breadth or comprehensiveness of view are wanting. There are B. A.s and M. A.s who think the Rāmāyaṇa to be a thoroughly historical work;

who, though reasoning correctly on points of English law, are not, when asked to write an essay on the development of Hindu Law, able to distinguish between the several stages that it presents, and consider e. g. the Smṛti of Yājñavalkya to be a work of the same author that promulgated the several books of Śukla Yajurveda. The difference in language does not strike them; and the fact that the law books in Sūtras are prior to those composed in Anuṣṭubh ślokas they have no conception of.

As to the last effect of education that I have noticed, the fact that there has been very little of conscious improvement in Hindu society indicates that that too is by no means very perceptible. If any effect has been produced in this respect, il does not go far beyond talk, while within the last 10 years or so even the talk has been of the opposite kind, and educated men are very little disposed to acknowledge the evil that permeates their society. Moreover, the fact that we have not yet acquired the courage of our convictions argues that those convictions are very weak indeed. And the half-hearted and lethargic manner in which all our movements, political, social, religious and economical or industrial, are conducted and the fact that we do not find a succession of resolute or zealous workers in connection with them show that the new civilization with which we have come in contact has not, except in very rare cases, produced more than a skin-deep improvement in us.

If then our education has not been so effective in all these respects, the next question is what are the causes and the remedies? As to this matter I shall place myself under the guidance of a very old Sanskrit author four of whose verses are quoted by Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, himself a very ancient author. The language and the irregularity of the metre of the Ślokas indicate that they belong to the period in which the Upaniṣads were written, i. e. to about the sixth or seventh century at least before Christ. Two of them are as follows :—

विद्या ह वै ब्राह्मणमाजगाम गोपाय मा शेवधिष्टेऽहमस्मि ।
असूयकायानृजवेऽयताय न मा ब्रूया वीर्यवती तथा स्याम् ॥

यमेव विद्याः शुचिमप्रमत्तं मेधाविनं ब्रह्मचर्योपपन्नम्।
यस्ते न द्रुह्येत्कतमच्चनाह तस्मै मा ब्रूया निधिपाय ब्रह्मन्॥

Knoweldge went up to a learned Brahman and said, "I am your treasure, therefore take care of me, i. e. do not waste me, do not communicate me to a scoffer who is disposed to find fault with me or you, who is not honest or sincere towards me, and who is not well-conducted. Thus alone shall I have power, i. e. be useful. Communicate me only to him whom you may know to be innocent or unsullied, to be not conceited, to be endowed with good parts, chaste, unmarried or devoted to me only, and whom you may know to be faithful or loyal to you. He alone will protect the treasure". Before proceeding further let me remark that the poverty of results we have been complaining of is due to other causes than such as refer to yourselves. To a certain extent the University examiners and even the teachers are responsible for it. The existing condition of the Hindu Society, its thoughts and aspirations, such as they are, operate in a manner to concentrate the influence of the education we receive. Our history of the last twenty centuries, which has induced certain mental and moral characterestics in us, has also a great deal ultimately to do with the unsatisfactory nature of the result. But as I am not discussing the question in a general manner today but simply addressing you, I will mention only those shortcomings in students to which this condition of things is in a great measure to be traced. Yāska, or the author quoted by him, says that knowledge has power (वीर्य) but only when communicated to one whose attitude towards it is that of honesty or sincerity (ऋजु). That is to say, the student must be a bona fide student, seek knowledge for its own sake and appreciate it for itself; and should not resort to it simply as a means to an entirely different end. Now can we assert that this is the attitude of most of our students? Do they not, when they read the books placed in their hands, think very much more of the examination that they have to pass and the degree they have to gain than of the

knowledge itself? When you choose your optional subjects can you all say that you choose them because you like them, and not because the University examination in them is likely to be easier, or those who are appointed examiners in them are not men of rigidity and are liberal in assigning marks? Here then is an instance of what Yāska called Anṛjutva or want of sincerity. When our students read the best specimens of English poetry, do they endeavour to realize the sentiment and appreciate it, and are they charmed by it? Do they not care for the syntactical collocation of the words, and for the merely dry and mechanical contents of the book, in order to be able to paraphrase any passage that may be set by the examiner and to answer questions as regards the contents? In studying history, do they care to realize the manner in which a race has progressed from barbarism to civilization, and do they study the arts and institutions of that race with any degree of sympathy? Is philosophy studied with a keen interest in the problems, concerning human nature and the principles which are in operation in human society, which it grapples with? I am afraid the examination papers in the University Calender are more assiduously studied than the subjects themselves. If then a University degree and the worldly prospects it opens to us are all that we thinks of in reading our books, it is a wonder that our Vidyā or education or knowledge has no Vīrya or power as Yāska calls it? But on reflection you will find that if you study English poetry and fiction, history and philosophy in an appreciative manner, feel really interested in them, realise the ideas that they place before you, and learn to admire those ideas, you will do greater good to yourselves than that which a University degree will do for you. You will be a better man; life will have greater and more elevated pleasures for you; and you will be a more useful member of society. And do not for a moment suppose that by constantly placing before your mind's eye the requirements of the examinations you are the better able to pass them. He who studies a subject for itself because he is interested in it and wants to know as much of it as he can is

better able to stand the chances of an examination than one who studies it merely for the examination. So that a bona fide or sincere study of a subject is twice blessed. It improves your mind and heart, and enables you to pass your examination.

There is another circumstance which contributes towards this attitude of insincerity or this imperviousness to the influence of what you learn. Somehow or other, in Bengal and in our part of the country, a false race-pride has sprung up and dominates the minds of a great many persons, old as well as young. Whenever one is introduced to a good idea in European literature or philosophy there is always a desire in many young men to be able to say that the idea is not foreign to our literature and philosophy and that it dawned upon our ancestors centuries ago. People want to believe that Europe has got little or nothing which our ancestors had not. When the mind is thus prepossessed, it is of course not possible for it to place itself on a high platform and examine the literature, the history and the progress of different races with impartiality and critical fairness. Hence comes it that in handling Sanskrit literary problems our students show little critical powers and are guided by the same principles and beliefs that dominate the mind of a bigoted Pandit. The assertions of a graduate that the Rāmāyaṇa contains nothing that is not historical, or that of another that all people were perfectly virtuous and happy in the time of Rāma, without ever asking himself whether there was ever such a historical person as Rāma, and that of a third that the religion which enjoins animal sacrifices (कर्ममार्ग) and that which includes the findings of God in the whole universe as a means to eternal bliss (ज्ञानमार्ग) were promulgated at one and the same time as simply two alternative methods of arriving at eternal bliss, suited to the tastes of two sorts of people, and that the Upaniṣads, the hymns of of the Ṛgveda, and the Brāhmaṇas were written at one and the same time, notwithstanding that the difference as regards language and ideas is so great that to a mind not so prepossessed they cannot but appear as representing different stages in the

progress of Indian thought, show that all the European education they had received was wasted on them and that it possessed no Vīrya or power in their case. I ask you to reflect whether this assumption that all that is ours is good and that our ancestors were omniscient can be beneficial to us in any way. That it is perfectly untrue is plain even to a child if its mind is not enslaved. And if we obstinately stick to this belief, the result must be that the thought or civilisation of Europe will exercise no influence upon us and that we shall be what we have been,— a dormant or dead community. A student therefore should endeavour to divest himself of this false belief and keep his mind open to the influence which European thought cannot but exercise in the natural course of things.

Another qualification of a student is Apramattatva, i. e. the absence of conceit. If a student already believes that he knows much, he cannot learn much. In order that learning may be possible, it is necessary that he should know how ignorant he is. A great many students think themselves qualified to pronounce a decided opinion on any question, educational, moral or historical, as against even their teachers and men of greater experience. It will be seen that Yāska requires a student to be loyal and faithful to his teacher and to regard him as his father and mother (य आतृणत्यवितथेन कर्णावदुःखं कुर्वन्नमृतं संप्रयच्छन्। तं मन्येत पितरं मातरं च तस्मै न द्रुह्येत्कतमच्चनाह).

If such a relation springs up between the teacher and the taught, the latter cannot fail to be immeasurably benefited by it. If he sincerely reveres his teacher, the high character of the teacher will serve as a living example for him to copy. But if he is Asūyaka, to use Yāska's expression, i. e. disposed to find fault with him or to believe any evil about him upon the most slender evidence, the influence of that living example will be entirely lost. If any feature in the character of Indian students has from the remotest times been most plainly visible, it is this reverence for a teacher. But somehow under the system

of education organised by our Government that reverence seems to have almost entirely disappeared, and a teacher's own pupils are not seldom his hostile critics in debate and in newspapers. I believe this is partly at least due to the non-appreciation by the pupil of the knowledge communicated to him by the teacher. But whatever the reason may be, the absence of reverence is in a great many cases a fact, and a fact to be deeply deplored. You will see that Yāska places the teacher on the same level with the father and mother. The feeling of reverence for these naturally springs up in the mind of a man. A feeling of reverence is one of the most ennobling features of human nature. If it is not developed in those cases where it should first develop, it will in all likelihood not be developed at all, and a reverence for truth, for moral good, and for the author of the grand and beautiful cosmos of the universe will not spring up. And what is a man who has not reverence for these? You should therefore guard yourselves very much against conceit, against the readiness to teach before you learn, and against an irreverent spirit.

Again, we see that Yāska considers that a man's education will be fruitful when he has good natural parts. This no doubt is true, but it is a gift of nature or of God and we can devise no remedy if one does not possess it. Still, if the other requisites mentioned by him are realised, they can to a large extent make up for the absence of good natural parts. He says that a man should observe strict Brahmacarya during the time he is student, and should be Yata, i. e. 'well-behaved'. Brahmacarya by usage means 'celibacy', but etymologically it means the vow of devotion to Brahman, which might be rendered here as 'what is good and true'. This requisite therefore comes to this, that a man should devote himself entirely to knowledge during the time he is a student, should not think of enjoying pleasures and should not have a wife or the cares of the family. This last requisite is wanting in a good many cases in which our students have to look to their family and

their application to their studies is lessened. Here, again, we can see how much we have fallen away from our old ideal, the ideal of our ancestors. In olden times when a boy was sent to a Guru or teacher, he had to remain with him for twelve or twenty-four years and think of nothing but his studies during that time. And it was after he had thus completed his studies that he was allowed to marry. At the present day we go through the ceremonies of being sent to a Guru and of returning after the completion of studies. But this last, which was performed at the end of a period of twelve or twenty-four years, is now performed on the fourth day and we have now a farce in the place of an old reality. It must not be denied that there is a tendency in our society towards improvement in this respect, and the marriage of boys is often delayed till they are twenty or twenty-one. As to close application and devotion to your books with a singleness of purpose, you can realise them if you are so minded.

Thus then, if the education you receive here is to have Vírya or power, i. e., is to be fruitful in the manner described in the beginning of this address, you should endeavour to realise in yourselves these requisites mentioned by an author who flourished about 25 centuries ago. Your attitude towards knowledge should be that of sincerity, i. e. you should be a *bona fide* student and seek knowledge for its own sake, because it is interesting to you, not because you are to derive any incidental benefits from it, such as a degree and good prospects in life, though of course these will be added and your single-minded devotion will be rewarded in that manner also. You should disabuse your mind of that sentiment of false patriotism with which the atmosphere of Bengal and of this side of the country is surcharged. You should keep your mind open to the influence which what is true, good and beautiful, whether it comes from a foreigner or from a native, cannot fail to exercise. You should not assume to yourselves a knowledge and experience you do not possess, and should wait until you come

to have them, and so become qualified to teach other people. Your attitude towards your teachers, as towards your father and mother, should be that of complete reverence; and that attitude will breed in you a reverence for what is true and good. Lastly, your application towards your studies should be close; nothing ought to draw your mind away from them; no pleasures ought to attract you. It is thus alone that the education given to you will develop your mental faculties, establish a moral order amongst the feelings of your heart, and elevate your character. And it is thus that you will be able to derive advantage from the dispensation of Providence in virtue of which we have been brought into connection with one of the foremost races of Europe, and improve your moral, social, economic and political condition. In this way alone will you be able to raise your fallen country, and enable it to take its place in the community of nations.

THE IDEAL OF AN INDIAN SCHOLAR

FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, BOMBAY, WEDNESDAY, 19th JULY 1893

[At a private and informal meeting held on Sunday afternoon in honour of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., the learned Sanskritist sketched the following ideal of what an Indian Scholar ought to be. In the course of his remarks he said :]

Many years ago when I first entered the Educational Department it was because I felt that the highest duty of man consisted in trying to secure the love and approbation of his fellowmen and that the teacher's calling afforded excellent opportunities for the purpose ; I soon discovered, however, that it was not given to all, even of those who assiduously served their fellowmen, to secure their love and approbation, and all I aimed at instead was the satisfaction of my own conscience and the service of the Universial Lord in Whom we live, and move and have our being. When, later on, I had the good fortune to be appointed Professor of Oriental Languages, I felt I would hardly be equal to the discharge of the many and important duties which in my opinion are expected of the occupant of such a chair in India. A Professor's duty is not simply to teach, but also to learn. And a Professor of Sanskrit has an extensive field before him, the whole of which any one individual can hardly be expected to cover. In the first place, he has to be conversant with the history of Indian languages. The language of the Vedas differs from the language of the Brāhmaṇas, which in its turn is not the language for which Pāṇini legislated. It is generally believed that Pāṇini's Grammar formulated a system from which later Sanskrit literature has not diverged. But it is not so. The language of the Epics is not indeed so unlike the language of Pāṇini's Grammar as that of the Vedas is ; still the points of dissimilarity between the two are neither few nor trivial, and European scholars who, till lately, had almost exclusively confined themselves to the Vedas are now beginning to bring their comparative, elabo-

rate and scientific methods of study to bear on the later Sanskrit literature, and to discover that in it also, as in the earlier field which they have made peculiarly their own, there are stages of growth and periods of change to record and understand. But this is not all. The Pali and kindred dialects also claim the professor's attention; these have developed literatures of their own, were derived at different stages of Sanskrit from the mixture of Sanskrit, the language of the Aryan conquerors, with the tongue of the barbarians, autochthonous or not, with whom they came in contact and whom they subdued and Aryanised; and they have given birth in turn to the Gujarati, Marathi and other languages of Modern India. The professor has thus to study the various literatures, with special reference to the history of language, the broad landmarks of which have thus been sketched too hurriedly. But this is only one branch of study he *professes* — and hardly the most important branch. These literatures embody many stages of religious belief and ceremonial practice, each of which grew out of the one preceding it. The Vedic hymns embody a religion which is not that embodied in the mass of literature styled as Brāhmaṇas. Again there is Buddhism, especially northern Buddhism; and the religious belief and the code of morals embodied in the Mahābhārata, which to all careful and unprejudiced students show strong mutual affinities. Lastly, there are Jainism and other modifications of Buddhism as well as Brahmanism, which slowly approximated one faith to the other, until there emerged as a substitute for both and as a result of compromising and accommodating tendency, extending over centuries, *Purāṇic Brahmanism.* Thirdly, the professor has to study the history of early Indian thought as a branch of inquiry distinct from the two, roughly delineated above. This, also, begins with some of the hymns of the Ṛgveda. The body of literature known as the Upaniṣads furnished the material for its second stage; and last come the different schools of formulated and systematised philosophies and the controversies that raged for long periods between them. The very materials for a study of this period of philosophical

controversies have yet to be discovered, collected and arranged. Lastly, the professor has to turn his attention to the political history of the country, and by deciphering and interpreting inscriptions, which is almost the only material he has got for the purpose, to try his best to get as many events, persons and works dated as possible. All this it is clearly impossible for any one man to study with equal attention and fullness at all points. Even the laborious Professor Weber has not been able to do so; and some scholars have, *nolens volens*, to work as pioneers examining, classifying and tabulating manuscripts, preparing lists of authors and the works, mentioned or referred to in any one manuscript or author, and in a variety of ways clear the road by preparing and digesting material in order that their successors may use it with greater ease and turn it to better account. Moreover, Indian professors have to do more teaching work than their German brethren. And being Indian born, they have a personal interest in the religious and social institutions that now prevail in the country, their past history, and the efforts that are now made to modify and reform them. As a reformer I belong to the most advanced section of the religious and social reformers of India. But my fellow-workers and fellow-thinkers of that section consider me as one of the most conservative of their number. The explanation is this. In Indian society the centrifugal tendency is, in my opinion, far too strong. The slightest divergence of ritual, manner of life, or mode of thinking is sufficient to constitute a new caste-group which falls away from the older castes and begins life by itself; and there is hardly any way in which these atoms can be crystallised into a new and larger whole. This conviction and the strong sense of the need of preserving historic continuity have often held me back. It is not enough that any particular reform that may be suggested is good in itself. The question that is of vital importance is, whether it can be engrafted on the existing organism of Hindu Society, whose roots go back into the prehistoric times and which contains vestiges of all that it has at any period of its life assimilated or had to struggle against.

I am aware that this line of thought is capable of being construed to support the most uncompromising hostility to every kind of change. But I have always held that it is necessary to act as well as to deliberate and discuss and preach and enlighten, excite and exhort in all varieties of tone and manner. And whenever my lights have enabled me to recognize a clear case for action, I for one have not hesitated. If my conduct on such occasions has dissatisfied any, I ask only to be judged according to my lights. I have always an explanation to offer as regards my attitude towards present political movements. It is not that we Indians are devoid of sympathy for our fellow-creatures. Our benevolence is active where particular individuals have to be helped. Our feelings are stirred at the sight of individual human beings in distress. But we are devoid of the sense of public duty. Our sense of wrong at public grievance is fitful and transitory. We cannot yet work with perseverance for objects that are to benefit not certain specific individuals, but the body public. The public, the body public, the country, is to us an abstraction with whose wrongs and needs we have not sufficient sympathy, whose claims on our efforts we do not adequately recognize, and whose good is not the good of any individuals in particular with whom we can speak and talk, whose gratitude we can enjoy as our reward. We are unselfish enough where help is claimed by individual distress; but, being devoid of the sort of corporate consciousness thus described, our actions in political matters are guided on the whole by selfish and individual interests. When this is the case, it is inevitable that there should be factions instead of parties, and that personal preferences and animosities should assert themselves and public interests be lost sight of. As long as such a state of things lasts, representative government would be an evil and not a boon. And I conclude by advising you that before asking for any political privileges, you should impartially examine whether you are fit for it, whether, in fact, there is any probability of your using it to the lasting benefit of your country.

A REVIEW OF MARTIN HAUG'S AITAREYA-BRĀHMAṆA[1]

[Originally appeared in the Native Opinion, Bombay, Febr. 28 and March 6, 1864, pp 99–101 und pp. 110-112; subsequently republished by Prof. A. Weber of Berlin in his Indische Studien, Vol. 9 (1865), pp. 177 ff.]

It is satisfactory to know that while Europeans have got so many things which excite our admiration and which we are tempted to adopt we possess one at least which seems to be very attractive to them in India and which they have consequently adopted here, and that is,—our love of ease and pleasure. It is indeed wonderful that while so many good and valuable periodicals are conducted in England and so many books of real work published every week, the English men and other Europeans in this Presidency should not be able to manage a single periodical or write one book at least in a decade of years. The late Rev. Philip Anderson of Colaba was a remarkable exception. He wrote a good history of the English in Western India, and his connection with the late Bombay Quarterly Review is well known. The Review, like its projector, died an untimely death for want of contributors. Perhaps, the reason may be that Englishmen here have too much to do to be able to devote their attention to literature ; but the number of really hard working men like Mr. Ellis is infinitesimal ; and even in their

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1 The Aitareya Brāhmaṇam of the Ṛgveda, containing the earliest speculations of the Brāhaṇas on the meaning of the sacrificial prayers and on the origin, performance. und sense of the rites of the Vedic Religion : edited, translated and explained by Martin Haug, Ph. D., Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies in the Poona College, etc., etc., Volume I. Pp. IX, 80. 215, VI ; Sanskrit Text with Preface, Introductory Essay, and the map of the Sacrificial Compound at the Soma Sacrifice ; and Volume II. Pp. VII, 535 : Translation with Notes. Published by the Director of Public Instruction in behalf of Government, Bombay, Govt. Central Book Depôt ; London, Trübner & Co., 60 Paternoster Row, 1863.

case the examples of Sir George Cornwall Lewis and Mr. Gladstone forbid us to make any great allowance. But the Professors of our Colleges can by no means plead this excuse; for the greatest amount of work they have is about two hours a day and vacations extend over about four months in the year. On this account, and on account of the circumstance that their profession is literary, the public has a right to expect good books from them. But they also have disappointed us. The only exception amongst them is Dr. Haug. His essays on the Parsi Religion have now been for about two years before the public, and this Edition and Translation of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa is his second work.

The style of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa is generally simple. But it can by no means be concluded that a translation of it is therefore an easy matter. There is indeed a very great difficulty, and such a difficulty as European scholars in Europe cannot master. To understand the Brāhmaṇa, a general knowledge of the complicated sacrificial ritual of the Brahmans is necessary. A large number of sacrificial terms occur in the book which, without such a knowledge, are liable to be totally misunderstood. There is, no doubt, Sāyaṇa's excellent commentary, in which most of these terms are explained and several of the sacrificial processes minutely described; but the great scholiast presupposes some knowledge of the ritual in his reader, and thus even with the help of his valuable work a great deal in the original remains indistinct and obscure. Dr. Haug's residence in India, therefore, gave him great advantage in this respect. He had recourse to one or two Śrotriyas who had officiated as priests at some of the sacrifices which some times, though now very rarely, take place on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā. They gave him a good deal of original information; and one of them performed a model sacrifice in his presence in a secluded part of his bunglow. We congratulate the Doctor on the success which thus attended his endeavours. It is indeed very difficult for a European to procure information on this most holy art. A Brahman breaking its

secret to a Mleccha commits a horrible and inexpiable offence against religion. But the greediness of the Deccani Brahmans is more than a match for their bigotry and superstition, and the offers of Dr. Haug were probably too tempting to be resisted.

With the information thus obtained and with Sāyaṇa's Commentary, the sacrificial sūtras and the prayogas or manuals of priests, the translation of the Brāhmaṇa was a matter of comparative ease. Dr. Haug, however, must have worked very hard before he was able to perform the task he had undertaken. The translation upon the whole is well executed, as might be expected. Copius notes illustrative of the text are given. They are chiefly based upon oral information and the prayogas, and now and then upon the Sūtras of Āśvalāyana and Hiraṇyakeśin, and the Kauṣītaki and Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇas. No ordinary degree of preseverance must have been required to collect and bring together this mass of information. The Germans are known to be patient scholars, and Dr. Haug seems to be a favourable specimen of their class.

A knowledge of sacrifices and of the technical terms of the art is essential for the correct interpretation of a large number of hymns in the Ṛgveda, and of nearly the whole of the Yajus Saṁhitā. It is indispensable for the accurate understanding of the work of the Mīmāṁsā divines, and useful to a student of several schools of Philosophy. Dr. Haug, therefore, has rendered material service to the students of Sanskrit literature, especially in Europe, and is therefore entitled to their thanks.

But great as are the merits of this book, it has many blemishes. These we should gladly pass over, were it not a duty we owe to the public and to the cause of Sanskrit learning to point them out. The edition of the Sanskrit text seems to have been hastily gone through. The punctuation is in many places wrong and calculated more to bewilder than help a reader. The editor in the corrigenda states that the first 60 pages were reprinted, and that the stopping from page 61 to 96 is not quite

correct. But even in the reprinted pages and those which follow p. 96, the punctuation in a number of places is wrong, though such errors are fewer in the former portion than in the latter. We will give a few instances :

Page 50 line 20 : kim sa yajamānasya pāpabhadramādriyeteti ha smāha. yo 'sya hotā syāditi. Properly, the full stop ought to be placed after this last iti, and even if it cannot be marked there on account of the saṁdhi of the i of the a of the following atra, there ought not be a full point after smāha. For the meaning is, " what, can he who is Hotar do any good or evil to him ? So they (he) ask ". It is clear that the relative yaḥ is connected with the correlative saḥ. By placing a full stop after smāha, the relative clause is separated from the correlative, which ought not to be. On referring to the translation, we find that Dr. Haug has constructed the passage as he has pointed it. But the particle iti in Sanskrit cuts off the connection of the clause at the end of which it is placed with what follows. The clause yo 'sya hotā syād iti, therefore, has no connection with the following but with the preceding. Besides, it will be necessary to understand the correlative saḥ in the next sentence, while if it be taken with the preceding there is no such need. And Sāyana understands the passage as we take it. His words are : asya yajamānasya yo hotā syāt sa tastya pāpabhadraṁ kim ādriyeta. And there is no doubt that that is the sense of the passage.

Then follows in the text : atraivainam yathā kāmayeta. tathā kuryadyam kāmayeta. prāṇenainam vyardhayānīti etc. Both these full points are wrongly placed. The first ought to come after kuryād, and, if it cannot be printed, omitted altogether ; and the second ought to be totally dropped. The translation, however, in this case is correct, but the text, being badly pointed, is apt to confuse a learner.

Page 97, line 9. atha yāḥ samāpayiṣyāmaḥ. saṁvatsaramityāsata etc. A full point is here placed between the verb

samāpayiṣyāmaḥ and its accusative saṃvatsaram, which, of course, is wrong.

Page 107, line 11. tad yadiheha vo manasā bandhutā nara ityārbhavam. prathame 'hani śaṅsati etc. Here it is clear that ārbhavam is the accusative governed by the verb śaṅsati; there ought not to be a full point therefore after ārbhavam.

Page 106, line 3. agnir vai devatā; prathamamaharvahati; —a semicolon separating the verb from its Nominative! — There are several such errors, but in the thirty-six pages between 61 and 96 the stopping is positively bad.

Then there are errors of another sort, which are also calculated to mislead a reader. The Sanskrit Mss., our readers know, are written without leaving a space between two successive words. This, no doubt, renders their understanding difficult to a beginner. Dr. Haug has, in his edition, separated the words, but in several places the division is wrong and therefore apt to bewilder a reader. Some of these errors are corrected in the corrigenda, but there are others which are not noticed. We will cite a few instances.

Page 31, last line (and p. 32 first line). sa medhena naḥ paśuneṣṭam asat kevalena naḥ paśuneṣṭamasaditi. Here the first word ought to be: samedhena, that is, with the medha or sacrificial quality. For the story there mentioned is that the sacrificial quality fled from animals and took refuge in the earth. Consequently, the things produced from the earth such as rice are offered in the form of puroḍāśa along with the animal, in order that the deficiency of the animal in the sacrificial quality may be made up.

Page 61, line 9. śastvā 'caturakṣareṇa. It ought to be: śastvā caturakṣareṇa.

Page 62, line 19. yajñāyajñīya, being the name of asāman, the first part ought not to be separated from the second.

Page 66, line 15. sa somapīthān karoti. It ought to be : sasomapīthān karoti.

Page 68, line 4. tena prati ca na samavadata. It ought to be : te na prati cana samavadata.

Page 118, line 9. tad yathā yathamṛtvija ṛtuyājān yajanti. The first yatha ought to be joined to the other.

Errors of this kind considerably impair the value of the edition before us. The third and a part of the fourth Pañcikā abound with them.

We will now proceed to examine the translation. We are sorry our limits do not allow of a full discussion of its merits. Though it is, on the whole, well executed, there are unfortunately too many inaccuracies and errors to render it trustworthy throughout. We can give but a few examples.

Page 57, *line* 23 (Text). asau vāva vāvṛtavah ṣal etam eva tad ṛtuṣvādadhātyṛtuṣu pratiṣṭhāpayati. Dr. Haug's translation of this passage is as follows :

Page 168, line 6-10 (Translation). The part vau of the formula vauṣaṭ means the six seasons. By repeating vaṣaṭkāra, the Hotar places the sacrificer in the seasons, gives him a footing in them.

This makes no sense. ' Because the part vau means the seasons, therefore he places the sacrificer in the seasons ' is no good reasoning even according to the standard of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. Besides, a little above, it is said that the part ṣaṭ means the seasons, and the reason is that the seasons are six and ṣaṭ in common language means six. Vau, therefore, cannot means the seasons here. And immediately after this the author of the Brāhmaṇa says : " As he does to the Gods so the Gods do to him ". There must be something then in what precedes which is construed by the author as being done by him (the Hotar) to the Gods ; otherwise, that observation would be out

of place. The true sense is : asau i. e. that, meaning the sun, is vau and ṛtus (seasons) are ṣaṭ ; therefore (by joining the two in the word vauṣaṭ) he places the sun in the seasons, gives him a firm footing in them. The connection of the observation which follows with this is clear. He (Hotar) gives the god Sun a firm footing among the seasons ; therefore the god Sun will do a similar thing to him ; i. e. give him a firm footing here in this world throughout the seasons. In Dr. Haug's translation the word asau is left out altogether, ṣaṭ he takes to be the word in common language which means six, while it is here meant to be the latter part of vauṣaṭ, and makes it an adjective of ṛtavaḥ. Sāyaṇa takes the passage as we do, and since the translator makes no mention of his dissenting from the commentator in this case, he must have been under the impression that Sāyaṇa and he agreed. But the commentator explains it differently, whence it is clear that the Doctor did not read Sāyaṇa's explanation carefully. It is thus : tanmantrapāṭhenaitameva vauśabdābhidheyamādityam ṣaṭśabdābhidheyeṣvṛtuṣvādadhāti, i.e. by repeating that mantra (vauṣaṭ) he places that, i. e. sun who is meant by vau, in the seasons which are meant by ṣaṭ. That the word asau or eṣa, that, refers very frequently to the sun is clear from several passages of the Brāhmaṇa itself (see particularly 3, 44 and 1, 30).

In the translation of the tale about the bringing of Soma from the heavenly world by gāyatrī, a formula is given which ought to be repeated by one who wishes safe passage to a friend going on a journey. That formula, according to Dr. Haug is pra cā cā. The original (page 69, line 21, 22, Text) is : tām devāḥ sarveṇa svastyayanenā'nvamantrayanta preti ceti ceti. etad vai sarvam svastyayanam yat preti ceti ceti. Dr. Haug's statement is in the last degree unsatisfactory. Sāyaṇa's explanation is decidedly better and very probably true. He says : ko 'sau mantra iti. praśabda eko mantra āśabdo dvitīyo mantraḥ. tadubhayadarśanārthamitiśabdadvayam. ubhayasamuccayārthaṁ cakāradvayam. kṣemeṇa somaṁ prāpnuhi punarapi kṣemeṇā 'gaccheti.

Nothing can be clearer than this. The word pra is one mantra (formula) and the word ā another. The different words which are joined together by the rules of saṁdhi in the expression preti ceti ceti are, pra iti ca ā iti ca iti. The word iti is twice used as a demonstrative and ca, being a copulative particle, is put in twice to join pra and ā. The last iti points out the whole expression and is connected with the principal word in the sentence. The particle pra means forth and ā hither. The sense of the formula pra and ā is forth (safely) and hither (-wards safely), i. e. go and return safely. Dr. Haug makes it pra cā cā which means nothing.

Page 197, lines 12-16.

tadu punaḥ paricakṣate yadasarveṇa vaco'bhiṣikto bhavatī-cvaro ha tu purāyuṣaḥ praitoriti ha smaha Satyakāmo Jābālo yametābhir vyāhṛtibhir nābhiṣiñcatītīśvaro ha sarvamāyuraitoḥ. sarvamāpnod vijayenetyu ha smāhoddālaka Āruṇir yametābhir vyāhṛtibhir abhiṣiñcatīti.

The full points are Dr. Haug's. The first is misplaced as we shall show. The translation (page 506, lines 9-16) is as follows :

They, again, are of opinion that the Kṣatriya when sprinkled not under the recital of the whole mantra (i. e. with the omission of the sacred words) has power only over his former life.

Satyakāma, the son of Jabalā, said, "If they do not sprinkle him under the recital of these sacred words (in addition to the mantra), then he is able to go through his whole life (as much as is apportioned to him)." But Uddālaka Āruṇi said "He who is sprinkled under the recital of these sacred words obtains everything by conquest".

Before examining this, we must premise that the author of the Brāhmaṇa in describing the power, whether for good or evil, of a mantra or a sacrificial rite always points out an ana-

logy between the good or evil which is to result and the mantra or rite. In the first and second sentences of the above passage as translated by Dr. Haug, having power over his former life and being able to go through his whole life are mentioned as the effects of sprinkling a Kṣatriya (at the time of coronation) with water under the recital of an incomplete mantra, i. e. mantra to which the sacred words bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ are not added. There is, however, no analogy between the cause and its effects. It would make good sense if, on the contrary, it were said that when he is sprinkled under the recital of an incomplete mantra, he enjoys an incomplete life; i. e. as some words are clipped off from the mantra, so are some years clipped off from the life originally assigned to him; and that when he is sprinkled under the rectical of a full mantra, i. e, the mantra with the sacred words, he enjoys his fulf life. And such is really the sense of the Sanskrit passage above quoted. Dr. Haug has translated it as if the first sentence ended with praitoḥ and the second, with āyuraitoḥ, the remaining words forming a third. But this is objectionable, because, as above observed, the sense is not good; and because, if the first sentence ended with praitoḥ, the second would begin with iti or at least with smāha, which is never the case in Sanskrit. Again, the translator has misunderstood the sense of purā 'yuṣaḥ, which according to him means 'former life,' while in reality it means 'before life' (purā before and āyuṣaḥ genitive sing. of āyus life) and he has not translated the word praitoḥ, which etymologically means to go forth, and usually, to die. Tadu punaḥ paricakṣate may be taken to be the first sentence; the second ends with the words abhiṣiñcatīti; and the remaining words of the passage as quoted above make up a third. If we construe the passage thus, the sense which as we said appears to to be proper naturally follows. The translation then ought to be :

Then again, they refute. Satyakama, the son of Jabalā. said that he who is not sprinkled under the recitation of the

sacred words (vyāhṛtis, bhur etc.) is apt to die before the term of his natural life in consequence of his being sprinkled with a part only of a speech (i. e. mantra). And Uddālaka Āruṇi said that he who is sprinkled under the recital of the sacred words (vyāhṛtis) is able to live all his life and, having conquered his enemy, gains everything. Sāyaṇa perfectly agrees with us. We refer the reader to his explanation, it being too long to be here quoted.

We will give a few examples of another class of errors and conclude.

Transl. Page 84, lines 2-5. When the fire is carried round (the animal), the adhvaryu says to the hotar : repeat (thy mantras). The hotar then repeats etc.

Page 93, line 29. The adhvaryu now says (to the hotar) : recite the verses for Manotā.

Page 95, Note 32, line 5 to 7. The Adhvaryu puts the plant on the juhū. . . . . . and says to the hotar: address vanaspati. He then first repeats an anuvākyā.

Page 99, lines 1 to 2. The adhvaryu orders the hotar to recite the mantra appropriate to the drop (falling down).

This is all wrong. It is not the hotar but the maitrāvaruṇa that repeats all these mantras and the anuvākyās. The hotar recites the yājyās only at the animal sacrifice. This will be evident from the following quotations from Āśvalāyana, and the Sapta-hautra-prayoga. In the Sanskrit text of the Brāhmaṇa the name of the hotar is not at all mentioned on these occasions.

Dakṣiṇo hotṛṣadanāt prahvo'vasthāya vedyām daṇḍam avaṣṭabhya brūyāt praiṣāmś cādeśam (Āśv. Śr. Sū. 3. 1). On this, Nārāyaṇa, the commentator says ; etad uktam bhavati ; praiṣāmnāyaparipaṭhitān sarvān praiṣān maitrāvaruṇa eva preṣitaḥ-preṣito 'nubrūyad iti arthah caśabdo maitrāvaruṇānukarṣaṇārthaḥ. From this it is clear that the nominative to brūyat in the above sūtra

and consequently in those that follow, in virtue of the rule of anvṛtti, is maitrāvaruṇaḥ. The word occurs in a previous sūtra from which it is brought on here, says the commentator, by the copulative particle ca.

The next two sūtras are :

Anuvākyāṁ ca sampraiṣe pūrvām praiṣāt, i. e. before giving the praiṣa or order to the hotar, he should repeat the anuvākyā if he has got an order (praiṣā from the adhvaryu). It is clear from this that the maitrāvaruṇa and not the hotar repeats the anuvākyās at the animal sacrifice for which Āśvalāyana is here giving rules.

Paryagni-stoka-manoto-nnīyamānasūktāni ca i. e. he should repeat the verses for carrying fire round (the animal), for the drops and for manotā. The commentator says : evambhūtamaitrā-varuṇānukarṣaṇārthaś caśabhdaḥ, i. e. the particle ca is used in the sūtra to drag on the word maitrāvaruṇa (from a preceding sūtra given above). From this we see that all these mantras are repeated by the Maitrāvaruṇa.

Aśv. Śrau. Sūtra 3, 2 daśasūkteṣu preṣito maitrāvaruṇo 'gnir hota na iti tṛcam paryagnaye 'nvāha, i. e. after the ten (āprı verses) are repeated the Maitrāvaruṇa, when ordered, recites the triplet Agnir hota naḥ etc. for carrying fire round (the sacrificial animal).

Sapta-Hautra : prayagnaye kriyamāṇāyā 'nubrūhıty ukte tiṣṭhann eva maitrāvaruṇaḥ agnir hotā etc., i. e. after being told, " Repeat (mantras) for carrying fire round (the animal) ", the Maitrāvaruṇa, standing, (says) Agnir hota etc.

Stokebhyo 'nubrūhīty ukte tiṣṭhann eva maitrāvaruṇaḥ, i. e. after being told " Repeat (mantras) for drops" the Maitrāvaruṇa, standing, says juṣasva etc.

Atha manotāyai preṣito maitrāvaruṇa āha. Maitrāvaruṇa being ordered (to repeat mantras) for Manotā repeats ; (tvaṁ etc.).

After this it is needless to quote Sāyaṇa who also says that these verses (given by Dr. Haug to the Hotar) are repeated by the Maitrāvaruṇa.

The 22nd khaṇḍa of the 2nd pañcikā is thus headed in the translation (see page 120): " The Hotar has no share in the Bahiṣ-pavamāna meal. The soma libation for Mitrā-Varuṇa to be mixed with milk." We think, there can be little doubt that Dr. Haug has misunderstood the general bearing of this khaṇḍa. For there is no such thing as a Bahiṣ-pavamāna meal, nor is the soma-libation for Mitrā-Varuṇa mixed with milk. We find no indications of them in Āśvalāyana, Sāyaṇa, or Sapta-Hautra. As to the first, all Aśvalāyana has got to say on it is this :

Adhvaryumukhāḥ samanvārabdhāḥ sarpanti ā tīrthadeśāt tat stotrāyopaviśanty udgātaram abhimukhāḥ tān hotā 'numantrayate 'traivāsīno yo devānām etc., i. e. " They headed by the Adhvaryu proceed up to the tīrtha and there sit down for the stotra (Bahiṣ-pavamāna) facing the Udgātar. The Hotar sitting here only (i. e. where he was sitting before) consecrates them (their act) by reciting a mantra, Yo devānām etc."

Here we do not find any mention made of the meal, where it might be expected if the meal were an enjoined rite at all; nor do we find it before, nor after this. This mistake has arisen from a misapprehension of the sense of these words in the original : ubhayeṣām vā eṣa devamanuṣyāṇām bhakṣo yad bahiṣ-pavamānaḥ. The Doctor translates them thus : " this meal in honour of the Bahiṣ-pavamāna-Stotra (which is about to be performed by the Sāma-Singers) is enjoyed equally by both Gods and men ". We do not know how the words in the original can bear this interpretation. We will give the meaning of each of them in order : ubhayeṣām, of both, vai, a particle very frequently used but having no definite sense, eṣaḥ that, deva-manuṣyāṇām, or gods and men, bhakṣaḥ meal or something eatable, yad which, bahiṣpavamānaḥ, name of a stotra (performance of the Sāma-singers). The whole is this : " Of both

gods and men is that which is Bahiṣpavamāna a meal"; i. e. the Bahiṣpavamāna stotra is as it were the meal both of gods and men. The word bhakṣa or meal is used here figuratively. The Bahiṣpavamāna is compared to a meal, for it gives pleasure or satisfaction to both gods and men as a meal does. Sāyaṇa perfectly agrees with us, as is clear from the following quotation: yo bahiṣ-pavamāna eṣa eva devānam manuṣyāṇām cobhayeṣām bhakṣaḥ, tena hi te sarve tripyanti; i. e. that which is Bahiṣpavamāna is itself the meal or eatable thing of both gods and men, for all of them ate pleased, or satisfied by its means. Sāyaṇa makes no mention of the "meal in honour of Bahiṣpavamāna," nor does Apastamba as quoted by him. Notwithstanding all this, the assurance with which note 12 (page 120) is written is surprising. Dr. Haug says there that the text which he has misconstrued "refers to the eating of caru or boiled rice by the Sāma-singers before they chant".

With regard to the second error, the milk or curd, spoken of in the text as belonging to Maitrā-varuṇa, forms one of the purodāśas offered to some deities before the stotras commence. It is not mixed with Soma as Dr. Haug says in the heading and in note 16, page 122. This will be clear from the following observation of Sāyaṇa in his comment on the passage in the text: atha savanīyapuroḍāśeṣu yeyam maitrāvaruṇī payasyā-'sti tatsadbhāva Āpastambena darśitaḥ; i. e. "Among the puroḍāśas at the savana is milk (or curd) dedicated to Maitrāvaruṇa." Āpastamba has mentioned its existence amongst them. Then follows the quotation from Āpastamba a part of which we give here: indrāya harivate dhānā indrāya pūṣaṇvate karambhaṁ sarasvatyai bhāratyai parivāpam indrāya puroḍāśam mitrāvaruṇā bhyām payasyām iti, i. e. dhānā for Indra with Haris (horses), Karambha for Indra with Pūṣan and payasyā i. e. curds or milk to Mitrāvaruṇa. This is also clear from the Praiṣa and yājyā given in the Sapta-Hautra, in which, along with the names of the other puroḍāśas, payasyā (curds) belonging to Maitrāvaruṇa is mentioned. The story of Khaṇḍa 22 is related to account for this

payasyā given to Mitrāvaruṇa along with the other puroḍāśas and not for its mixture with soma.

Dr. Haug's account of Svāhākṛtis at page 100 seems to be confused and inaccurate. We had a mind to discuss their nature fully ; but as we have, we are afraid, already wearied our reader with long Sanskrit quotations we forbear. We will only remark that the word Svāhākṛti (in the plural) ought not to be translated here by " the call Svāhā " as the Doctor does (see Trans.) ; for all the three Sanskrit authors we have consulted agree in stating that the Svāhākṛtis are the deities of the 11th prayāja, to whom an offering is given, not with the other ten prayāja deities but after the verses for the drops falling from vapā are repeated. The eleventh Āprī verse is used as their yājyā.

Such is a specimen of the inaccuracies and errors to be found in the Edition and Translation before us. It appears clearly that Dr. Haug has not read Sāyaṇa, Āśvalāyana or the Sapta-Hautra-prayoga carefully. And yet he says in the preface :

" My notes are, therefore, for the most part, independent of Sāyaṇa, for I had almost as good sources as he himself had ".

But the great difference, even supposing that the materials were equally good in both cases, is that Sāyaṇa seems to have an intimate knowledge of them, while Dr. Haug has at the best only a superficial and general acquaintance, as we hope we have shown. And further :

" He (Sāyaṇa), however, does not appear to have troubled himself much with a minute study of the actual operations of the sacrificial priests, but derived all his knowledge almost entirely from sūtras only ".

How he does not thus appear, we are at a loss to see. If Dr. Haug himself notwithstanding the immense help he must have derived from Sāyaṇa, and, notwithstanding that he possessed as good a source as Sāyaṇa himself, was unable to understand the

text of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa correctly, without seeing some of the operations performed in his presence, how could it have been possible for Sāyaṇa to write such a voluminous and lucid commentary, without seeing the sacrificial rites performed and performing them himself. We believe such a minute and accurate description of several of the ceremonies as is given by him cannot be accounted for under any other supposition. He never, we apprehend, betokens an ignorance of even the details of the ritual. If Dr. Haug is led to this conclusion by Sāyaṇa's always quoting from Sūtra works and never advancing anything on verbal authority such as that of priests, as he himself does, it is because it is always a sound canon of criticism in expounding a book, to produce on matters of fact the authority of standard authors on the subject. Every reader is able to estimate for himself the value of such authority; but when what is referred to is a verbal statement which for aught one knows may be false or may have been misunderstood by the person who uses it, he is left helpless and has no choice but to place implicit confidence in it. Besides, a European, for whom the sacrificial ritual of the Brahmans can have no more than a passing interest, may be satisfied with the verbal statements of a priest and believe in them. But a person like Sāyaṇa, who was himself a Brahman and believed in the efficacy of the rites and held that the slightest deviation from the processes enjoined in the Sūtras was fraught with evil consequences, would place no confidence in mere verbal statements, but would consult the chief authorities on the subject and acquaint himself with the actual practice as it had descended from times immemorial. Moreover, if it were necessary, we might mention that there are extant several sacrificial manuals or prayogas written by Sāyaṇa himself. We have ourselves seen one of the Cāturmāsya and another, of the Agniṣṭoma Audgātra. No doubt, Sāyaṇa may be wrong in the philological interpretation of particular passages of the Brāhmaṇa, but that he betrays any ignorance of the ritual or even shows but a poor acquaintance with it, we do not believe.

We beg that the point of our criticism may not be misunderstood. It is almost an intuitive belief in modern times that free discussion is indispensable for the advancement of Truth. "Truth, like a torch, the more it's shook, it shines". Anybody who is able in howsoever small a measure to help men in separating the grain of truth from the rubbish of falsehood and does not do so is guilty of an offence against Truth itself and against mankind in general. It is with such feelings as these that we entered upon this discussion. Our object is to enable our readers, so far as we can, to form a correct estimate of the volumes before us. Very little was known about sacrifices before in Europe and also in India except to a small minority of Bhaṭṭas and Śrotriyas. Dr. Haug worked hard for some years and having obtained a considerable knowledge of the ritual has translated the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The work will afford great help for the understanding of other Brāhmaṇas and of some hymns in the Saṁhitā. The Doctor has thus rendered good service to the cause of Sanskrit learning. But it is certainly to be desired that the book were freer from inaccuracies than it is and bore fewer marks of haste. If Dr. Haug studied Āśvalāyana and Sāyaṇa more carefully and gave us another edition of his work, free from such faults as we have pointed out, it would no doubt be a valuable and permanent addition to our existing resources for the study of ancient Sanskrit literature and Indian antiquities.

Having thus given our estimate of the merits and faults of the edition and translation, we will, in the next notice[1] give some account of the contents of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and discuss some of the questions to which they give rise.

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1. [This intention, Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar said, was not realised.—N. B. U.]

A REVIEW OF DR. GOLDSTÜCKER'S "PAṆINI" AND HIS THEORY ABOUT PAṆINI'S TECHNICAL TERMS.[1]

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume 6 (1877), pp. 107 ff.]

The following article on Goldstücker's Pāṇini was published in two issues of *Native Opinion*, 21st and 28th August 1864. Appearing in a mere newspaper, it probably did not then attract the notice of scholars generally, and is now inaccessible. I am encouraged to reprint it in the *Indian Antiquary* by the suggestion by Prof. F. Keilhorn in a note to his article on the Mahābhāṣya (Indian Antiquaty Volume V, p. 251). I have given it as it was, save misprints, and a remark of a personal nature omitted from the last paragraph.

[2]Dr. Burnell, in his recent work, *The Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians*, has adopted Prof. Goldstücker's theory about Pāṇini's technical terms, which, as was shown by me twelve years ago is based on a misapprehension of the sense of certain passages in the Mahābhāṣya and Kaiyaṭa, and, like him, is led to awkward conclusions. He gives some technical terms used by the older grammarians, which, he says, Pāṇini does not define in accordance with the theory. Of these, however, *ekavacana, dvivacana* and *bahuvacana* are defined in I. 4. 103. Upasarga, nipāta, dhātu and pratyaya Pāṇini defines likewise, but, as observed by me in the following paper, he defines them by enumeration, or by unfolding the denotation, of the term

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1 Pāṇini, His Place in Sanskrit Literature, an Investigation of some Literary and Chronological Questions which may be settled by a study of his works,--by Theodor Goldstücker ; London, Trübner & Co.

2 This and the following para. were added when the Review was reprinted in the Indian Antiquary.—N. B. U.

instead of the connotation and in the case of dhātu in the latter way also. All Indian grammarians so understand him, and Patañjali himself does so. *Dhatu* is defined in I. 3. 1. This sūtra is interpreted in several ways. First, that bhū and others are dhātus, i. e. the name dhātu is given to bhū and others. The effect of this, we are told in the Mahābhāṣya[1], is that these get the name from the fact of their being put in that list. Secondly, bhū and others which are of the nature of vā, i. e. which show *action* are roots; and thirdly vā and others which are of the nature of *bhū*, i. e. signify *being*, are roots. What is to be gathered from the last two is that words which show action or being are roots. This is a connotative definition. After finishing his explanation in this way, Patañjali says, " Well, then, if we have got a connotative definition now, the enumeration should not be made "[2], which means that the purpose of a connotative definition and enumeration is the same, viz. the explanation of a term. In the same manner the word nipāta is explained in I. 4. 56. This is an adhikāra, wherefore the term is to be repeated in each of the sūtras that follow up to I. 4. 9; and the sense is that all the particles contained in these sūtras are nipātas. Upsarga is defined, i. e. explained by enumeration, in I. 4. 59. As to pratyaya, it is defined in III. 1. 1. This also is an adhikāra, and by this adhikāra we are told that a name is given to certain things which are set forth in the following sūtras, to which the *adhikara* extends.[3] Bhaviṣyat and Vartamāna are no saṁjñās, or technical terms of Pāṇini,— they are no more so than the words bhūta, adyantana and parokṣa, which are also used. The same remark applies to anta, pradhāna and prayatna. Anusvāra, like visarga, is merely the name of a sound, and is not a saṁjñā, the object of which in Pāṇini's grammar is abbreviation, or to be able to state much in a short compass.

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1 पाठेन धातुसंज्ञेत्येतदुपपन्नं भवति । p. 229a.

2 यदि तर्हि लक्षणं क्रियते नेदानीं पाठः कर्तव्यः ।

3 प्रत्ययः अधिकारेणेयं प्रत्ययसंज्ञा क्रियते ।

Then follow terms which, according to the theory, Pāṇini *should not* define, but as a matter of fact he *does*. Dr. Burnell gives reasons why he does, the chief of which is that Pāṇini's new anubandhas and the pratyāhāra sūtras rendered the definition of these terms necessary. Prof. Goldctücker's theory is that Pāṇini does not define those terms which admit of an etymology and which are "known and settled otherwise." Now these terms have an etymology, were settled by the previous grammarians, were known before Pāṇini, Pāṇini uses them in the same sense, and there is no difference whatever; why, then, should he define them if the theory be true? What difference does his new system of anubandhas and the pratyahāra-sūtras make? He would be justified in defining them only if he used them in a different sense. But this is not the case. And if his new anubandhas make any difference, why should he not define the names of cases, prathamā, dvitīyā etc. where also he has got new anubandhas? There are also some terms with the definition of which his innovations have nothing to do, but still he defines them notwithstanding they were used by writers who are believed to have preceded him. Pāṇini defines saṁhitā as paraḥ saṁnikarṣaḥ (I. 4. 109), and these are exactly the words in which Yāska explains the terms.[1] Yāska uses the terms abhyāsa and abhyasta[2] also, and in Pāṇini's definition of them there are no anubandhas or pratyāhāras. The first of these observations will also stand against the reason advanced by Dr. Burnell for defining anunāsika. Pāṇini's definition of āmantrita he considers to be no definition. I do not see why. It is as good a definition as that of guṇa or vṛddhi. The sense of the sūtra (II. 3. 48) is, "the first case as used in addressing is called āmantrita." In the definition of upadhā Dr. Burnell thinks that the reason given in the Mahābhāṣya for the use of alaḥ is to avoid making it apply to the indicatory letters. I do

1 P. 38, l. 2, Rothe's edition.

2 P. 40. l. 2 from bottom; p. 41, l. 8; p. 74, l. 2; p. 83, l. 2 from bottom; p. 94, l. 8.

not find this reason in that work. The quotation given in the footnote to support the statement means quite another thing. Its purport is this :— A question is raised whether the " alaḥ is to be taken as an adjective to antya." The answer is "yes, it deserves to be so taken ". What follows is a vārtika setting forth an objection against this construction. The objection is " If alaḥ is to be taken as an adjective to antya, there should be a prohibition against [the application of the term to] a collection of letters, " i. e. in this constrnction, the sense of the sūtra is " what precedes the last letter (lit. the end in the shape of a letter) is upadhā " in which case the term would apply to the two letters *śa* of the root *śās*. A long discussion follows, with which we have nothing to do at present. I need say nothing more.

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Dr. Goldstücker is undoubtedly one of the most learned, laborious, and accurate European Sanskrit scholars we have known, and the wide, and in many cases, precise knowledge he has shown of Indian grammatical literature is particularly striking to a Hindu, especially when we call to mind that he has not had the advantage of oral instruction, which is available only in India. Of course a minute knowledge of the complicated and subtle speculations of Indian grammarians can only be acquired after a hard study of at least five years and from a Pandit teacher. But much of what they have written is barren and useless, and no European Sanskritist, or Indian scholar of the new stamp, would consider it worth his while to study it. The Doctor's critical acumen, the skill with which he has brought together stray facts to illustrate and prove his point, and the success with which he has combated the opinions of several scholars command our admiration, though we are rather inclined to think he has handled some of his German friends somewhat roughly. His book is, however, not without its weak points, and there are three or four places where it appears to us to be particularly so. It is not our intention at present

to write an elaborate review of it, but we will notice one point which bears materially on his theory about Pāṇini, the Indian grammatical legislator.

At page 166, Dr. Goldstücker lays down the following four propositions :—

1 That his (Pāṇini's) Grammar does not treat of those saṁjñās or conventional names which are known and settled otherwise.

2 That this term saṁjñā must be understood in our rule to concern only such conventional names as have an etymology.

3 That it applies also to grammatical terms which admit of an etymology, but not to those which are merely grammatical symbols.

4 That such terms as *ṭi*, *ghu* and *bha* were known and settled before Pāṇini's Grammar, but that nevertheless they are defined by Pāṇini because they are not etymological terms.

These four statements contain, according to Dr. Goldstücker, the principles which guided Pāṇini in the composition of the work and are deduced as conclusions from one of his Sūtras, Patāñjali's Bhāṣya on it, and Kaiyaṭa's gloss on the latter. Leaving these points for fuller examination at the end, let us in the first place consider if these principles are worthy of being made the basis of a stupendous grammatical superstructure, and bear an air of truthfulness about them, or if there is any external evidence to support them.

According to the first two statements, Pāṇini does not propose to teach saṁjñās and such saṁjñās only as have an etymology. Does he then propose to teach saṁjñās which are without an etymology? The "only" would show that he does propose this. What, then, is meant by saṁjñās *without etymology?* Are such saṁjñās as Pañcālāḥ, Varaṇāḥ, Aṅgāḥ, which are given by the commentators as instances of this sūtra and the previous one to which it refers, and which, therefore, are the

saṁjñās Pāṇini, according to them, does not propose to teach,—are these saṁjñās, we ask, without etymology? If they are, according to Dr. Goldstücker, Pāṇini should teach them. If they are not, no instance can be given: of a word, existing in the language, which is a saṁjñā without etymology. If we bear in mind that two schools of etymology existed in India, viz. Vyutpatti-pakṣa, according to which all words have an etymology and Avyutpatti-pakṣa, according to which some have it, and some have it not, and that Pāṇini belonged to the latter, as is asserted and believed by all śāstrins, such words as Pañcālāḥ and aṅgāh are saṁjñās without etymology. And if this be joined with Dr. Goldstücker's statement, it will follow that Pāṅini should teach them. But as a fact he does not, if we believe the commentators. Now with regard to the Vyutpatti-pakṣa, we see that the rule in question contradicts its doctrine, for according to that pakṣa all words, saṁjñās included, have etymology, while the rule makes a distinction between words *with* and *without* etymology. If we suppose, then, that Pāṇini belonged to this pakṣa, and at the same time that he observed the rule given by Goldstücker, we must either suppose him to have possessed an extremely illogical mind or not to have proposed such a rule for his guidance. Upon either view of etymology, therefore, we maintain that the rule laid down in statement Nos. 1 and 2 could not have been followed by Pāṇini. We perfectly agree with statement No. 1, if it be separated from No. 2, and not interpreted according to the sense of the word saṁjñā given in the latter.

In the next two statements this rule is applied to grammatical saṁjñās. Such as are settled are not to be defined, but an exception is to be made in favour of such as have no etymology, e. g. ṭi, ghu, bha &c. We see no reason why Pāṇini should select for definition, out of settled saṁjñās, such as have no etymology. For, both those with and those without etymology are settled, i. e. have a fixed meaning. The mere circumstance of some saṁjñās having etymology, which may be considered as

the reason why they are not to be defined, is immaterial, as the presence of etymology in the one case is nearly the same thing as its absence in the other. The etymology of a technical term is not sufficient to explain its sense, and in some cases it affords no clue to it whatever. How can the etymology of the terms bahuvrīhi, pratyaya, &c. enable one to understand their grammatical signification? In so far, then, as words with etymology are used in philosophical treatises in a sense different from the etymological, or from that they have in common language, they are in the same predicament as unmeaning words, such as ṭi, ghu &c. We see, therefore, no reason why Pāṇini should have selected the latter for definition, and not the former.

Having laid down this theory about Pāṇini's technical terms, Goldstücker proceeds to test its accuracy with reference to several saṁjñās which he knows were settled before Pāṇini's time such as pratyaya, prathamā, dvitīyā, tatpuruṣa &c., and finds that he has not defined them as they have an etymology. He then mentions other saṁjñās, such as karmadhāraya, anunāsika, hrasva, dīrgha, udātta, anudātta &c., and since they are defined and possess etymology, he concludes that they must have been first used by Pāṇini himself. We cannot help thinking that there is here an instance of the fallacy of reasoning in a circle, or of the Anyonyāśraya of Hindu logicians. In order that Dr. Goldstücker's theory may be true, it is necessary that these defined saṁjñās possessing etymology should be inventions of Pāṇini and they are inventions of Pāṇini because the theory is true. Or in plainer terms, the theory is true because these defined saṁjñās are Pāṇini's inventions, and they are Pāṇini's inventions because the theory is true. These defined saṁjñās may have been settled before Pāṇini's time, in which case the doctor's theory would be false. And in fact we have reason to believe that such saṁjñās as hrasva, dīrgha, pluta, udātta, anudātta &c. were invented before Pāṇini. We are sorry we have not got any treatise on śikṣā to refer to just now, but considering that the names for accents and for long and short

vowels must have been very early invented by grammarians, as they are the most elementary distinctions and likely to strike a lingual philosopher before many others, and bearing also in mind that, if different terms for these had existed before Pāṇini, they would not have been altogether lost and we should have known them, we are inclined to believe that the names in question were settled before his time. Dr. Goldstücker himself mentions one such word (द्वन्द्व), and is not inclined to disbelieve that there may be many more. But the supposition he makes to save his theory that Pāṇini used them in a sense somewhat different from that in which they were before used has, in our opinion, no basis.

We have all along used the word definition in Dr. Goldstücker's sense. He seems to understand by the term definition such a definition as is commonly given in European books, viz. that which unfolds the connotation or comprehension of a term. But the principal object of a definition is to point out or distinguish certain things (definitum) from the rest, and this may be done in other ways than by unfolding the connotation. Unfolding the extension or denotation is often an easier process and may in several cases be resorted to. Even European logicians call this latter a definition, no less than the former. Sanskrit writers do not confine themselves to the former, but frequently use the latter and several other kinds. For instance, in Viśvanātha Pañcānana's Muktāvali (p. 71, Asiatic Society's edition) the fallacy *anaikāntika* is defined as that which is any one of sādhāraṇa &c., i. e. anaikāntika is either *Sādhāraṇa*, *Asadharaṇa* or Anupasaṁhārin. The fallacy is thus defined by enumerating its several kinds.. We need not stop here to quote other instances. Any one who takes the trouble will find many in any Sanskrit philosophical treatise. What we maintain, then, is that, so far as this view of definition is concerned (and we are convinced that that is the Hindu view), Pāṇini *has* defined the terms pratyaya, tatpuruṣa, bahuvrīhi &c., which Dr. Goldstücker says he has not; but he has defined them by enume-

rating the several kinds or individuals contained under them. To Hindu writers such a definition is as good as the other, especially when the latter is difficult to give. We think Pāṇini in defining terms by enumeration was not guided by any such rule as the learned Doctor lays down, but simply consulted his own convenience. When he found it difficult to give a connotative definition, he gave a denotative one. How difficult would it have been to give a connotative definition of *bahu-vrihi*, for instance, containing as it does such compounds as उत्तरपूर्वा, सपुत्र, दण्डादण्डि, so different from such a one as कमलनयन !

We now proceed to examine the principal evidence upon which Dr. Goldstücker's theory is based. As we said before, he quotes a sūtra of Pāṇini, the bhāṣya on it and Kaiyaṭa's gloss on the latter, and deduces his theory from these. When we read this portion of the book for the first time, we were surprised to find that the Doctor has not understood one of the passages correctly. The sūtra referred to is तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात्. Dr. Goldstücker's translation :— " Such matter will not be taught by me for it falls under the category of conventional terms which are settled (and therefore do not require any rule of mine; literally " for it has the authority of a saṁjñā or conventional term) ".

This translation is generally correct. We would, however, translate it more closely, thus :— " About that no rule ought to be made or that should not be taught; for (the knowledge derived from) the meaning of conventional terms in common usage is an authority in itself". The word संज्ञा is explained by Patañjali as संज्ञान, which again Kaiyaṭa interprets by संप्रत्ययः, अवगमः, i. e. knowledge obtained (from usage). In a note on that portion of the Siddhânta-Kaumudī (Cowell's edition) where this *sûtra* is explained, we find the following :— संज्ञानां लोकव्यवहाराणामेवात्र प्रमाणत्वम्, " saṁjñās — that is, usages — are here an authority or evidence."

The bhāṣya on this sûtra is as follows :— किं या एताः कृत्रिमा टिघुभादिसंज्ञास्तत्प्रमाणत्वादशिष्यम् । नेत्याह । संज्ञानं संज्ञा ।

Dr. Goldstücker's translation :— "When Pāṇini speaks of conventional terms which he will not teach because they are settled, does he mean by this expression such technical terms as *ṭi, ghu, bha* and the like? No; for saṁjñā is here the same as saṁjñāna understanding (i. e. a name which has a real meaning that may be traced etymologically)."

We do not see whence he gets the first portion up to "settled". If by implication, we do not think it necessary to understand anything. There is nothing even in the sūtra which has the sense of the words "which he will not teach because they are settled." For, what Pāṇini says he will not teach is that something which he has alluded to in the last sūtra but one, and which we shall explain hereafter. We do not deny that this sense may be inferred from what Pāṇini actually says. We have, however, a particular objection to the expression "are settled" if it is to be made applicable to the terms ṭi, ghu, bha, &c., and understood to mean "settled before Pāṇini's time". There is nothing in the original corresponding to the words enclosed in brackets in the above extract, nor is the sense deducible from any word occurring in the Sanskrit passage. There is, no doubt, the word saṁjñānam, but we do not know upon what authority Dr. Goldstücker renders it by "a name which has a real meaning that may be traced etymologically". Kaiyaṭa explains it by **अवगम, संप्रत्यय**, as noticed above, which means 'knowing, comprehending,' as is evident from his use of the word **अवगति** (differing from **अवगम** only in the form and not in the sense of the termination) in the sentence which follows. It is this :— **तत्र यथापो दाराः सिकता वर्षा इत्युक्ते लिङ्गसंख्याविशेषावगतिरुत्पद्यमाना प्रमाणमेवं पञ्चाला वरणा इत्यादावपि** :— "As when one pronounces the words **आपः, दाराः, सिकताः, वर्षाः**, the **अवगति** (knowledge or comprehension) of a particular number and gender which is produced is authority, so is it in the case of **पञ्चालाः, वरणाः**", &c. Our translation of the passage in question is as follows :— "Is it on account of the *authority* of (or evidence afforded by) such artificial saṁjñās as ṭi, ghu, bha, &c. that *that* (the thing mentioned

in a previons *sūtra* alluded to before) should not be taught." "No", says he (Gonardīya—Patañjali). "Saṁjñā is knowing, comprehending." Upon the whole, Dr. Goldstücker's translation of these two passages is not very objectionable, but they do not afford any basis for his theory, except for that portion of it which is comprehended in the first statement. But the quotation from Kaiyaṭa is altogether misunderstood. It runs thus :—

किं या एता इति । प्रत्यासत्तिन्यायाश्रयेण प्रश्नः । नेत्याहेति । प्रत्यासत्तेः सामर्थ्यं बलवत् । नहि टिघुभादिसंज्ञानां प्रमाणत्वं शुक्लवद्भावशास्त्रस्याशिष्यत्वे हेतुरुपपद्यते । संबन्धाभावात् । संज्ञानमिति । अवगमः संप्रत्यय इत्यर्थः ।

And Dr. Goldstücker's translation of this is as follows :—

"The question of Patañjali is suggested by the rule of analogy. His answer is in the negative because the context itself has greater weight than (mere) analogy. Now, though such terms as ṭi, ghu, bha, and the like are settled terms, this circumstance would not have been a sufficient reason in an *etymological* work (like that of Pāṇini) for leaving them untaught; for they have no etymology. 'Understanding (as Patañjali paraphrases saṁjñā) means mentally entering into, understanding the component parts of a word [or it means the words which admit of this mental process]."

In the first sentence of this, the word *analogy* is not, we think, a correct translation of प्रत्यासत्ति, though it will do. "Proximity" is the word that is equivalent to it, and it ought to have been used here, for a reason which we shall presently explain. But it is the third sentence that is the most objectionable of all. We have no hesitation in saying that the translation here is totally wrong, and it is upon this misapprehension of the sense of the original that the Doctor's peculiar theory is based. We hope our readers will excuse us for the assurance with which we speak; for we feel that no native scholar acquainted with grammatical phraseology would ever think of translating or interpreting the passage thus. As Dr. Goldstücker translates it, he appears to connect the nouns प्रमाणत्वम् and अशिष्यत्वे with the

genitive टिघुभादिसंज्ञानां, and renders the former by "being settled". But अशिष्यत्वे ought really to be taken with the genitive युक्तवद्भावशास्त्रस्य ; and then the translation would be "for learning युक्तवद्भावशास्त्र, untaught," instead of " for leaving them (i. e. ṭi, ghu, bha, &c.) untaught," as the doctor translates it. युक्तवद्भाव-शास्त्र is rendered " an etymological work," which, if one remembers what the sūtra is about, he will at once see is altogether wrong. The word can by no stretch of sense mean that. शास्त्र means here 'a rule,' as it frequently and primarily does, and not 'a work'. Various instances may be quoted in support of this, the last pāda of the verse about Uṇādi, एतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु, being one. संबन्धाभावात् is rendered as " having no etymology, " for which, however, there is not the slightest authority. संबन्ध never means etymology ; it means connection. Besides, from the context it is clear that the sentence cannot have the sense Dr. Goldstüker attaches to it. For, the whole subject here discussed by these several writers is this :—The last but one sūtra of Pāṇini is लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने (I. 2. 51), which is thus explained in the Siddānta-kaumudī :— लुपि सति[1] प्रकृतिवल्लिङ्गवचने स्तः। पञ्चालानां निवासो जनपदः पञ्चालाः। कुरवः। अङ्गाः। &c, meaning that when an elision called लुप् takes place, the gender and number (of the noun) are like those of the base ; पञ्चालाः &c. are instances. This requires some explanation. In virtue of the sūtra तस्य निवासः (IV. 2. 69) the termination अण् should be added to the noun पञ्चालाः, for instance, when we have to form a derivative signifying " the place of residence or the country of the Pañcālas ", a race of Kṣatriyas (hence the above example from the Kaumudī is worded पञ्चालानां निवासो जनपदः) . Now this termination is elided in virtue of the sūtra जनपदे लुप्, IV. 2. 81. If the termination were not dropped, the word expressing 'the country of the Pañcālas' would be पाञ्चालः. Then the question is, when it is dropped, what should

1 युक्त is explained as प्रकृति, because in a word the sense of the base is intimately joined to that of the प्रत्यय or termination (see note 70, p. 549. Cowell's edition of the Siddhānta-Kaumudī ; प्रत्ययार्थेन नित्यसंबद्धार्थकतया युक्तमत्र प्रकृतिः).

be the gender and number of the noun signifying the *country*? Should it be masculine and singular, as the word जनपद् '*country*' is? If so, the derived word would be पञ्चालः. But "No," says Pāṇini (in the sūtra लुपि युक्तवत् &c.); "the gender and number should be like those of the original base," which is पञ्चालाः, and consequently masculine and plural. Hence the noun signifying the residence or country of the Pañcālas is पञ्चालाः. "Now," says Pāṇini (in the sūtra तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् I. 2. 53), "what is the use of teaching by a rule the number and gender of these?", though he himself, in conformity with the practice of former writers, has done so. "They are to be learnt from usage, which has itself an authority, just as the gender and number of आपः and दाराः are, and the authority of a grammarian is not required. For पञ्चालाः, अङ्गाः &c. in the plural are actually the names of certain countries, and, as such, ought to be used in the plural in deference to the existing usage and there is no necessity of a grammarians's teaching it". Upon this Patañjali raises the question, "Pāṇini speaks of the authority (of usage in matters) of names. Are they such names as *ṭi*, *ghu*, *bha*, &c. which have an authority" (as used by Pāṇini, not necessarily by any other writer)? "No," says he. Kaiyaṭa explains why Patañjali put to himself such a question? "He was led," he says, "to it by the proximity of these artificial grammatical saṁjñās, or that he wanted to determine which were the saṁjñās meant by Pāṇini; because if he did not do so, a reader might, on reading the sūtra in question, be led to think first of them (the grammatical names) rather than of any other, on account of their proximity to or connection with, the science he is studying. In order, therefore, to avoid all such confusion he proposes the question, and answers it by saying "No". "Why not?" "(हि) Because," says Kaiyata "(टिघुभादिसंज्ञानां प्रमाणत्वम्) the authority of the grammatical saṁjñās, ṭi, ghu, bha, &c. (न हेतुरुप-पद्यते) is no reason (as the authority of saṁjñās in common language such as Pañcālāḥ, Aṅgaḥ, &c. is). Why युक्तवद्भावशास्त्रम् [a sūtra or rule expounding that when a termination is elided by

the use of the term लुप्, the gender and number are like those of the base] (अशिष्यत्वे) should not be taught ? And why is it no reason ? " (संबन्धाभावात्) Because there is no connection (i. e. no connection between such saṁjñās as ṭi, ghu, &c. and युक्तवद्भाव)". This is the whole sense of the three quotations. युक्तवत्, i. e. like the base, is the word used by Pāṇini in the last but one sūtra (लुपि युक्तवत्), &c.; and Kaiyaṭa first adds the word भाव to it, when the whole means " the being like the base", and then the word शास्त्रम् a *rule*, and thus the expression युक्तवद्भाव-शास्त्रम् signifies *literally* " the rule about the being like the base," and not an etymological word, as Dr. Goldstücker understands.

It will thus be apparent that Dr. Goldstücker's theory is based upon a misapprehension of a passage in Kaiyaṭa; and, now that we have explained its true sense, and have also shown that the theory is not supported by any external evidence, it must, we think, be given up. The first of the Doctor's four propositions, if separated from the second, we agree with, as we have already intimated. Dr. Goldstücker's opinion, that the saṁjñās ṭi, ghu and bha were known before Pāṇini's time, may be true for aught we know, but it does not at all follow from anything in the passages commented on. He was, no doubt, led to it by the expression टिघुभादिसंज्ञानां प्रमाणत्वम्, which he renders by " such terms as ṭi, ghu, bha are settled terms." We would translate it as " the authority of such saṁjñās or terms as ṭi, ghu, bha, &c." and this authority they derive from their having been used and defined by Pāṇini. The whole grammatical literature based on his work does not admit the authority of any other person except him, his continuator and critic Kātyāyana and his bhāṣyakāra. And even if we take Dr. Goldstücker's translation, the expression " are settled terms" does not necessarily mean " settled before Pāṇini's time, or by any other person than Pāṇini himself".

Dr. Goldstücker has also misunderstood the sense of the sūtra प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् (I. 2. 56), which is thus

explained in the Siddhānta-Kaumudī प्रत्ययार्थः प्रधानमित्येवंरूपं वचन-मप्यशिष्यम् । कुतः । अर्थस्य लोकत एव सिद्धेः । i. e. "the saying that the sense of a termination is the principal sense of a word (and that that of the base is attributively joined to it) should not be taught. Why? Because the sense [of a word] is to be gathered from or is established by *usage*". We do not know whence Dr. Goldstücker brings in the idea of a compound and its "principal part" in his translation. We do not think it necessary to enter at greater length into the explanation of the sūtra in this place.

We must here close our remarks; our space does not admit of a more lengthened notice, at least for the present. We hope our observations will be calmly and patiently attended to by European Sanskritists. In several cases, though not in all, native students of Sanskrit have a greater right to be listened to than Europeans. We are also desirous that these few remarks should not give pain to Dr. Goldstücker, who, especially by his articles on our religious difficulties published in the Westminister Review, has shown himself to be our decided friend who sympathizes with our fallen condition and is ready to help us by his friendly advice in our race towards a brighter future.

MR. VINCENT SMITH'S EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA[1]

[FROM THE INDIAN REVIEW, MADRAS, VOL. X (1909) PP. 401ff.]

Including a few paragraphs originally omitted by the Editor of the Review and subsequently printed at the author's special desire.

India has from time immemorial been cut up into a number of independent states, so that the expression "Political History of India" can only mean the political history of the states which composed it. But again from remote times the king of one or other of these states is represented to have conquered the "whole world" and performed the horse sacrifice, indicative of his supreme or paramount power. Such an old work as the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa mentions a good many such kings. These paramount sovereigns held power for a few generations, sometimes for only one. The history of these paramount sovereignties can more appropriately be called the History of India. Such paramount sovereignties, however, did not exist at all times. The religious and literary History of India is, however, an appropriate expression at all times. For any religious literary movement started in one state extended itself immediately to the neighbouring ones, and thence to remoter provinces, and eventually spread over the whole country. Mr. Smith does not propose to give the religious or literary history of the country; but only the political.

But what are the authorities for the political history of India? There are genealogies in the Purāṇas of royal dynasties that held power up to about the end of the third century of the Christian era. Then we have stray notices of some princes in the literature and whole biographies of a few. There is a chronicle of one province, Kashmir, which contains reliable history, though there is a good deal in the beginning which is mythical. Sanskrit literature does not contain history as a branch of study

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1 *The Early History of India*, by Vincent A. Smith, — published by Mr. Henry Frowde, Oxford.

and inquiry. The Purāṇas and Itihāsas cannot be relied upon as works of history, though there may be a historic basis or root, which, however, it is difficult to extricate from the mass of legend with which it is enveloped. The principal sources of history which are reliable are inscriptions on stone and copper, coins, architectural remains, and the accounts written by foreign writers, especially Greek, Chinese and Arabian, of the state of the country when they visited it. The information gathered from some of these sources is extremely meagre, and a special acuteness is wanted in the writer of the early history of India to piece together the different scraps of information and form a consistent whole. This, however, it is not every writer who possesses; and oftentimes wild statements are made, supported by very little or no evidence or unaccompanied by a statement of the evidence. The lay reader should guard himself against such writers.

Mr. Smith gives the histories of the paramount sovereigns that reigned from the third century before Christ to about the end of the seventh century after, and such history of independent provinces as has been worked out by scholars from the available materials. His account of Candragupta, who founded the Maurya dynasty about 322 B. C., and of his grandson, Aśoka, is very good and instructive, since the materials are ample, and a good many scholars have been working over them for a number of years. It may, however, be stated that I do not quite agree with Mr. Smith as to the extent of Aśoka's empire that he gives. He makes it extend over the whole of India, with the exception of the exteme south, up to Mangalore, where he places the independent country of the Satiyaputas. In my "Peep into the Early History of India" I have made his empire extend along the line connecting his inscriptions and made it include the whole of the northern India up to Kathiawad in the west and Ganjam in the east and also the portion of the table-land of the Deccan up to Mysore. I have excluded both the eastern and the western coasts, because there is no relic of the empire there

and also for another reason which may here be given. That reason is that the independent country of the Satiyaputas must be placed, not where Mr. Smith does, but a good deal further to the north ; for, we have along the westernmost portion of the Deccan table-land in the Poona district Maratha, Prabhu and Brahman families bearing the name *Sātpute*, which corresponds remarkably with the Satiyaputas of the inscriptions. The independent state, therefore, of Satiyaputa very likely was situated along the Western Ghats and the Konkan coast below. Upon the whole, the sections on Aśoka in Mr. Vincent Smith's book are satisfactory.

There is also very little to remark as regards anything in the sections on the Śuṅga and Kāṇvāyana dynasties, except this, that I still adhere to the view that to make the Puranic chronology agree with that derived from Nahapāna's date and the information available in Ptolemy's Geography it is necessary to regard the forty-five years assigned to the Kāṇvāyanas to be comprised in the 112 assigned to the Śuṅgas, notwithstanding the statement that Devabhūti was killed by Vāsudeva ; and this supposition I still regard as fully supported by the statement in the Purāṇas that the Kāṇvāyanas were the servants of the Śuṅgas as the Peshwas were of the Rajas of Satara. If the Śuṅgas were entirely put an end to by the first of the Kāṇvas, his three successors can in no sense be called "servants of the Śuṅgas." The Śuṅgas, therefore, must have been reigning while the Kāṇvāyanas were ruling just as the Rajas of Satara reigned while the Peshwas held the true power.

Mr. Smith next proceeds to notice the Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty. The family is known by the name of Sātavāhana, he says, which is correct ; but it is also known, he observes, by the name of Śātakarṇi, which occurs frequently in the genealogy. The frequency of its occurrence is by no means a reason for its being regarded as a family name any more than Henry which occurs eight times and Edward which occurs seven times is the

name of the dynasty that has been ruling over England since 1066. Śātakarṇi is the proper name of the king who bore it. It was sometimes associated with another name but there is no indication anywhere of its having been the name of the family. A long inscription in one of the caves at Nasik on the Western Ghats contains the name of Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi who is represented to have conquered a very large extent of territory, to have restored the "glory of Sātavāhana race", to have destroyed Śakas and Pahlavas and to have left no trace of the line of Khakhārāta. This Khakhārāta was Kṣaharāta Nahapāna, whose coins are extant and whose son-in-law Uṣavadāta, the husband of his daughter Dakṣamitrā, caused caves to be excavated at Nasik and founded a good many other charities. Nahapāna is called in the legends on his coins and in the inscriptions a Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa and a Rājā. Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi's son was Puḷumāyi, in the 19th year of whose reign the inscription describing the exploits of Gotamīputra is dated. The names of Simuka, Kṛṣṇa and Śātakarṇi, the first three princes of the dynasty, also occur in the Western Inscriptions. Similarly, princes, later than Puḷumāyi, of the names of Yajña-Śrī-Śātakarṇi, and Māḍharīputra Śakasena are mentioned. No princes of the Śātavāhana dynasty are mentioned between the first Śātakarṇi and Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, wherefore the inference is that foreigners, whose leader was Nahapāna, occupied Western Deccan in the intervening period before Gotamīputra vanquished them. In the legends of copper coins found at Kolhapur occur these words: Vāsiṭhīputasa Viḷivāyakurasa, Gotamīputasa Viḷivāyakurasa and Māḍharīputasa Sevalakurasa. Another Kṣatrapa king named Caṣṭana is mentioned in coins and inscriptions found in Kathiawad and Malwa, and he was followed by a long series of successors. The grandson of Caṣṭana was Rudradāman, whose exploits are described in his inscription dated 72, found at Junagad. Therein he speaks of twice having subdued Śātakarṇi, the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, but not having destroyed him on account of the connection with him not being remote. In an

inscription at Kanheri which is much mutilated, the wife of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi is represented as the daughter of a Mahākṣatrapa.

These are the facts. Let us see how Mr. Smith has concatenated them. He says the first Śātavāhana prince Simuka, who has been varionsly named as Sindhuka, Sipraka, &c., in the Purāṇas, could not have been the one who uprooted the Kāṇvas, though the Purāṇas expressly state it. He gives no reason for the supposition. He then takes Gotamīputra Vilivāyakura to be the same king as Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, who was the destroyer of the race of Nahapāna Kṣaharāta and the father of Puḷumāyi. This Puḷumāyi, he says, was the son-in-law of Rudradāman of the Junagad inscription and was twice subdued by him. The name of the daughter of Rudradāman married to Puḷumāyi, he says, was Dakṣamitrā. All this is opposed to the clearest evidence available to us. The identification of Vilivāyakura with Ptolemy's Baleocuros was first made by me, and it has been accepted by others and even by Mr. Vincent Smith himself. Ptolemy mentions him as ruling in Hippocura and Siri Polemeos, i. e. Puḷumāyi, at Paithan, while Tiastenes or Caṣṭana ruled at Ujjayinī. These, therefore, since they are so mentioned by Ptolemy, must be considered as contemporaries. But Mr. Smith makes Baleocuros the father of the Puḷumāyi and Puḷumāyi as the contemporary of Rudradāman, the grandson of Caṣṭana, and not Caṣṭana himself. If Baleocuros was the father of Pulumāyi, the father reigned at Hippocura and the son at Paithan and neither had anything to do with the capital of the dynasty on the lower Godavari. This is certainly, to say the least of it, curious, and it is clear that Mr. Vincent Smith has in determining the relations of these princes entirely set aside the information derived from Ptolemy. At the same time, Puḷumāyi cannot have been the prince subdued by Rudradāman, because the name of the prince subdued by him is expressly given as Śātakarṇi and Puḷumāyi was never called Śātakarṇi. The daughter of a Mahākṣatrapa, represented in the Kanheri inscription as the queen of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi, cannot

have been the wife of Puḷumāyi; for he was not called a Śātakarṇi, but of Vāsiṣṭīputra Catarapaṇa Śātakarṇi, whose name occurs, according to Bhagwanlal Indraji, in a Nanaghat inscription. Her name is lost in the Kanheri inscription, and Dakṣamitrā, which is given as her name by Mr. Vincent Smith, was the name of the daughter of Nahapāna married to Uṣavadāta. And it must not be forgotten that Puḷumāyi could not have been Rudradāman's son-in-law and could not have fought with him, as he (Puḷumāyi) was not his contemporary but of his grandfather Caṣṭana. Thus then, in connecting together the different pieces of information concerning these princes, Mr. Vincent Smith goes quite against the most unimpeachable evidence. Who then must have been Viḷivāyakura? That name does not occur in the whole list given in the Purāṇas, and cannot have been borne by an Āndhrabhṛtya prince. The great Gotamīputra who conquered Nahapāna and re-established the power of his family could not have been Viḷivāyakura, the ruler of Hippocura. For his name is expressly stated in the long inscription at Nasik as Śātakarṇi, and the whole information therein given is remarkably confirmed by the hoard of about fourteen thousand coins of Nahapāna, recently found in the Nasik district, more than nine thousand of which are counter-stamped with the words "Rañño Gotamiputasa Siri Sātakanisa," which shows that the conqueror used the money of the vanquished monarch, but re-stamped it with his own name, Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi. The only way of making the whole account consistent is to take Viḷivāyakura as viceroy, first of Vāsiṣṭhīputra and then of Gotamīputra, as I have done in my "Early History of the Deccan." In the legends on coins it was usual to associate the name of the supreme sovereign with that of the viceroy of the particular province, as Catarapaṇa's name is with that of Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi in the Sopara coin and in a great many coins of the Śaka princes of Arachosia and the Punjab. Thus then, the Vāsiṣṭhīputra of the Kolhapur coins must have been Puḷumāyi, and Gotamīputra, Yajña Śrī. Or, if one per-

sists in taking Viḷivāyakura[1] as in apposition to Gotamīputra and Vāsiṣṭhīputra, they may be regarded as princes independent of the Āndhrabhṛtya princes bearing those metronymics. But this supposition is highly improbable, since the metronymics Vāsiṣṭhīputra, Gotamīputra and Māḍharīputra occur in the inscriptions in the Poona, Thana and Nasik districts and the same three metronymics are found on the coins at Kolhapur, a place only about 130 miles from Poona. There could not have been two dynasties having the same three metronymics at places so near each other and at about the same time. Ptolemy locates Puḷumāyi at Paithan, and the many traditions about Śālivāhana or Śātavāhana current in Mahārāṣṭra place him at the same place. There were, therefore, two viceroyalties at least of the Āndhrabhṛtyas, one at Paithan and the other at Hippocura. To the former the younger princes must have been appointed, as Aśoka and Agnimitra were to the viceroyalties of Takṣaśilā and Vidiśā during the life-time of their fathers. This inference is very reasonable, and yet Mr. Smith rejects it. Again, the Śātakarṇi whom Rudradāman is represented to have twice subdued must be Yajña-Śrī-Śātakarṇi. This way of taking the whole matter is consistent throughout, and does not go against any portion of the available evidence. Mr. Vincent Smith also says that "after the destruction of Nahapāna, the Local Government of the West was entrusted to one Caṣṭana, who seems to have been a Śaka, and to have acted as Viceroy under the Āndhra conqueror." What this Local Government of the West may have been it is impossible to say. For the Poona, Thana and Nasik districts were, after the destruction of Nahapāna, governed by Śātavāhana princes and Caṣṭana, according to Ptolemy, ruled at Ujjayinī, far away in Malwa, and his being a Śaka was exactly a reason why he should not have been appointed a viceroy by the victorious Gotamīputra, who took pride in destroying Śakas. This statement is repeated by Mr. Smith later on. He appears to have had too much faith in H. Oldenberg, who started the theory. I will add one other point. Gotamīputra's mother is

called Balaśrī by Mr. Vincent Smith following Dr. Bühler. I have taken her name to be Gotamī, and Balaśrī as a compound word qualifying Gotamī and characterising her as the prosperous goddess of power. Balaśrī is not to be found in the whole range of the Sanskrit literature as the name of a person, and Gotamī is not a Gotra-name here as Dr. Bühler takes it, for it is difficult to believe that such old Gotras as those of Gotama and Vasiṣṭha were in common use in the caste to which the Śātavāhanas belonged. Besides if Balaśrī had been the proper name of the lady, her son would have been called Balaśrīputra and not Gotamīputra, as Gotamī was her general name according to Dr. Bühler's supposition and not her proper name.

Though the Purāṇas represent the Āndhrabhṛtyas to have succeeded the Kāṇvāyanas and the Śuṅgas, they do not appear to have held power for any length of time in Northern India or even in the country of Magadha. Shortly after the foundation of the dynasty in about 73 B. C. northern India was disturbed by the incursions of the foreign hordes, some of which obtained a permanent footing in the country. Of these the Śakas were the most enterprising. They established themselves along the western side of the country from Takṣaśilā or Taxila to Kathiawad, inclusive of Mathurā and Ujjayinī. They extended their power even to the Deccan, dispossessing the Śātavāhanas of the country, but did not enjoy it for a long time. For Gotamīputra conquered Nahapāna or perhaps his immediate successor, whose name, however, is not known. The eastern side of India was probably in its normal condition, that is, cut up into small states and held by many native princes.

Mr. Vincent Smith proceeds to give the history of the incursions of these foreigners and the establishment of their power in the country ; but there are a few points in which I cannot agree with him. The princes who are generally represented as forming a Śaka dynasty, notwithstanding some affinity with the Parthian race, are included by him in the

Parthian dynasty. I have shown in my "Peep" that the rule of succession among these princes, viz., Vonones, Spalirises and others was that the younger brother succeeded to the throne in preference to the son of the first occupant, and, after all the brothers had enjoyed sovereignty, it descended to the son of the eldest brother, and so on. This was the rule of succession among the Kathiawar and Ujjayinī Kṣatrapas, who belonged to the Śaka race; and Dr. Bühler has pointed out that that rule prevailed among the Northern Kṣatrapas also. This confirms the general view that Vonones and others were also Śakas. Another reason for the supposition of the racial identity of the Kṣatrapas and the line of Vonones is, as pointed out by Prof. Rapson, afforded by the term *dāman*, which forms either the prefix or the suffix of Kṣatrapa names and which we find in such names of the princes of the latter line as Sphalgadames. Mr. Vincent Smith regards the southern and northern Kṣatrapas as independent hordes of Śakas; but certainly a question ought to arise in one's mind as to why they should have assumed such an inferior title as Kṣatrapa corresponding to the Persian Satrap. And the question can be answered only by regarding them as having been in the beginning viceroys of some paramount sovereigns. Such paramount sovereigns were Vonones and others. On their coins appears the title "King of Kings" in Greek as well as Pali language. Why should not one then regard the Kṣatrapas as the viceroys of those imperial sovereigns? But to the imperial Śakas European scholars have been in the habit of assigning a very early date, which cannot be harmonized with the Śaka dates of the Indian Kṣatrapas. I see no reason why one should adhere to the early date and have regarded one of the imperial Śakas as the founder of the Śaka Era.

Mr. Vincent Smith then passes on to give the history of the Kuṣanas. He regards Kaniṣka as the immediate successor of Kadphises II., usually called Wema or Hima Kadphises. But the great difference in the legends and emblems on the coins of Kaniṣka and Wema Kadphises prevents the supposition that the

former was the immediate successor of the latter. Kaniṣka and his successors appear to me to have formed a distinct family from that of the two Kadphises. The Kuṣana dynasty became extinct or sank into unimportance, according to the prevailing belief among scholars, a hundred or a hundred and fifty years before the rise of the Guptas in about 350 A. D. There is thus a gap of so many years between the two dynasties. But I have brought forward a number of reasons for believing that there was no such gap between the two dynasties and that the successors of Kaniṣka were in possession of North-western India up to Mathurā till the Gupta prince Candraguptā II. dispossessed them of it. I have thus regarded Kaniṣka to have begun to reign about 278 A. D., and thus shocked all European scholars. I expressed the opinion that the figures representing hundreds were omitted in the dates occurring in the inscriptions of Kaniṣka and his successor. But perhaps the existence of such a practice at such an early period cannot be regarded as substantiated by any positive indication. I may, therefore, modify my opinion, and say that Kaniṣka used an era of his own, but its intial date must be such as will make the last of his successors contemporaneous with Candragupta II., who overthrew him; that is to say, that the intial date should be about 260 A. D. The question is still open and cannot be regarded as settled until some fresh discovery gives us certain information as to Kaniṣka's date.

The foreign domination and the rule of native princelings were put an end to when the Imperial dynasty of the Guptas rose in the first half of the fourth century. The first prince of the family who made glorious conquests and extended his dominions over a wide extent of the country was Samudragupta. He was followed by Candragupta II., who was called Vikramāditya. He put an end to the Śaka dynasty ruling over Ujjayinī and also, in my opinion, to the Kuṣana dynasty. The famous Vikramāditya, the patron of learned men, who was called "Śakāri" or "enemy of the Śakas," was in all probability Candragupta II., whose reign began

befote 388 A. D. and ended about 412 A. D. Mr. Vincent Smith's account of the Gupta dynasty is, on the whole, very satisfactory, and I need go no further into it.

About the end of the fifth century the Gupta family broke up and after some time became extinct. About that time the Huns established themselves in the country and gave it two sovereigns, Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. Their power also soon came to an end. For about a hundred years we had no imperial sovereign, but in the first half of the seventh century we have Harṣavardhana, who exercised paramount power over the whole of Northern India, but was checked effectually, when he attempted to extend it to the South of the Narmadā, by Pulakeśi II. of Mahārāṣṭra. The itinerary of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang and Bāṇa's Harṣacarita are the chief authorities for the history of this emperor. They give us a far fuller account than such authorities as coins and short inscriptions, with which we have had to satisfy ourselves hitherto, can give. Mr. Smith's account of this emperor may also be regarded as satisfactory. He then proceeds to give a short account of some of the minor kingdoms of the subsequent centuries. In the following chapters he gives similar accounts of the kingdoms of the Deccan and of those in the extreme south. Having already exceeded my limits I will not go into them.

The history of the Kalacuri dynasty ought, in my opinion, to have been given in greater detail, since there were materials for it. That dynasty possessed an era the initial date of which is 249 A. D. and which was current in Gujarat and some parts of Mahārāṣṭra also. There are some insciiptions which tend to show that that dynasty ruled over Western Deccan and a part of Gujarat after the extinction of the Śātavāhanas. But it was dispossessed of these provinces and driven into the interior by somebody and occupied the country of Cedi near the modern Chattisgarh. They often came into close relations with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan, but nobody has yet collected all the information and written a book on the dynasty.

I will now close this criticism with the observation that the circumstances of the case require that the writer of a history of India for the use of ordinary lay-people should give the broad, salient facts which have now been placed beyond the possibility of doubt, and, if he enters into details, they must be such as have been accepted by all scholars or are supported by unimpeachable evidence. If there are conflicting or inconsistent views about a certain matter, all these should be given, and, if they cannot be given, that matter should be entirely omitted. All the available evidence should be carefully gone into, and the facts ascertained should not be combined and connected in a manner to conflict with other equally well-known facts. No statement should be made for which there is no authority, and in all cases references should be given in the footnotes. A book written on such principles may then be recommended as a safe guide to lay-readers. It is not meant to say that Mr. Vincent Smith has set aside these principles—and parts of his book are unexceptionably good — but it is impossible to refrain from expressing a desire that it should be thoroughly revised in strict accordance with those principles in order that it may become a safe and useful guide to ordinary readers.

THE LATE PROFESSOR PETER PETERSON

[FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, VOL. XX (1902), PP. XLVI ff OF THE PROCEEDINGS]

The following is the tribute paid by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar on the occasion of a meeting called in memory of the late Professor Peterson by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on Thursday, the 7th of September 1899, under the presidentship of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy.

[The Chairman said that they had met together to place on record the Society's sense of the loss they had incurred in the death of their President, the late Dr. P. Peterson, M. A , D. SC. On behalf of the committee of the Society he asked Dr. Bhandarkar to move the resolution.

Dr. Bhandarkar then moved the following resolution :— "That the Society place on record its sense of loss it has sustained by the death of its president, Dr. Peterson, and its testimony to his abilities, to the interest he took in its affairs, and to his great services in connection with Sanskrit literature. That a letter enclosing a copy of the Society's resolution be forwarded to Mrs. Peterson, with an expression of sympathy with her and her family."

Referring to Dr. Peterson he said :] Dr. Peterson was brought out in January 1873, to supersede me. I had been acting as Professor of Oriental Languages in the Elphinstone College for four years, from the beginning of 1867 to the end or 1872. Dr. Peterson was a young man of twenty-five and was junior to me by ten years. For fifteen years before this I had been learning and teaching Sanskrit, while Dr. Peterson could have been studying it only for about five years before. Under the ordinary operation of our sinful nature, one would expect that distrust, suspicion and jealousy would have sprung

up between us. But such feelings never for a moment took possession of his heart nor of mine, and a cordial friendship grew up between us, which was continued during the varied occurrences of the last twenty-six years, and has now terminated only by his death, which occurred a few days ago. This good ness was entirely due to the innate nobility of Dr. Peterson's nature and to the culture which his mind had undergone, as well as his desire to please and to be agreeable. He never gave himself an air of superiority, as is too often done by inferior natures. At a later period we happened to be engaged in a spirited controversy on a literary question. Such controversies between scholars often embitter their feelings against each other, and they are sometimes found not to be willing even to shake hands with each other when they chance to meet. But this was not the result of our controversy, and we were as good friends after it as before. Dr. Peterson was Professor and I his assistant and we worked harmoniously together. In September 1874, he went on a year's sick leave to Europe and, after his return, was appointed to the Deccan College as Professor for another year. In November 1876, he came back to the Elphinston College. There was a turning point in Dr. Peterson's career about the end of 1881. A Sanskrit professor is considered unworthy of his post if he does not carry on original research in Indian antiquities and Indian languages and literature in addition to his teaching work. The other professors in a college are at liberty to do or not to do anything they like, but this additional duty is imposed on Sanskrit professors. I do not complain of this, and even in these days, when there is a greater readiness to give professorships to natives, the authorities, I think, should insist that the Sanskrit professor should devote his leisure to this work. Since 1873 I had been doing work of this nature, but Dr. Kielhorn of Poona was about to retire on that occasion, and the idea had been conceived of getting out a new man from Germany to succeed him there; but since it was considered unfair that I should be passed over another time, especially after the literary

work that I had done, it was arranged that I should be made professor of Oriental Languages in the Elphinstone College and Dr. Peterson appointed professor of English literature. Had this plan succeeded, the world would not have heard of Dr. Peterson as a great scholar. But, having deliberately chosen Sanskrit studies as the work of his life, this proposal was not liked by him. He saw the members of Government and personally protested against it in a strong manner, and the result was that the orders for a new professor from Germany were countermanded by a special telegram, and I was appointed to the Deccan College and Dr. Peterson remained professor of Sanskrit in the Elphinstone College.

The Government of Bombay had for several years before been conducting a search for Sanskrit manuscripts and this work had been entrusted to Dr. Bühler, and after his departure to Dr. Keilhorn mainly and to me partially. After Dr. Keilhorn's departure Dr. Peterson claimed to be allowed a portion of it, and it was divided equally between him and me. In connection with this he went on tour several times to Gujarat and Rajputana and examined a good many of the Jain libraries in those provinces. He issued four reports as extra numbers of the Journal of this society. Two more were printed at the Government Central Press. He contributed a good many articles to the Journal of this Society, and published at various times editions of the Bālakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, of Hitopadeśa, of Kādambarī, of Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvali and of Śārṅgadhara's Paddhati. In his introduction to Vallabhadeva's work, he gave an alphabetical index of all the poets whose names were found alluded to in the Sanskrit literature, together with all the information that had till then been obtained about them. This work he did in conjunction with the late Pandit Durgaprasad of Jaipur. An analysis of Śārṅgadhara's Paddhati had before been given by Professor Aufrecht, but that had only rendered the demand for the work itself keener. Śārṅgadhara's

date is known and from that the inference is easy that poets from whose works he gives elegant extracts flourished before him. This desideratum Dr. Peterson supplied by his edition. He also published annotated editions of the Ṛgveda Hymns laid down for the M. A. Examination, and a handbook for the students of Veda. He edited a Buddhistic work entitled Nyāyabinduṭīkā in connection with the Bibliotheca Indica of Calcutta, and an edition of a Jain work in connection with the same collection is in the press. The first two fasciculi were presented to me by him only a few days before his death. You will thus see that the original work done by Dr. Peterson since the end of 1881 has been considerable. His examination of Jaina libraries in particular has been productive of important results. His works are referred to and quoted from by all European scholars who have occasion to write on subjects touched on by him, and he is highly spoken of by them all. Professor Ernest Leumaun of Strassburg, in the notice of Dr. Bühler's life published in the recent number of the Indian Antiquary, says with reference to Dr. Peterson: "Bühler imparted his desire of discovering or uncovering all that is hidden or unknown in Jain literature to Peterson, his successor in Bombay, who has been so fortunate as to be able to enter sanctified temple libraries, which in spite of all exertions were closed to Bühler. Peterson has indeed been continuing Bühler's work in the search for manuscripts very much to his credit." Dr. Peterson has thus been able to secure for himself a very high place among European scholars. Whenever he came across a fine sentiment in a Sanskrit author he did not fail to appreciate it and often times translated it into English verse and compared it with similar sentiment an English authors or in the Christian Bible. As he appreciated all the good he found in Sanskrit literature, he appreciated also whatever good he found in Indians. He was thus a kind and sympathetic friend of us all. About six week ago he wrote to me, telling me that he was a candidate for the Boden Professorship at Oxford, and asked me

to give him a testimonial, as I had done on a former occasion when he applied for the Assistant Professorship. I intended to see him personally and speak about it and discuss his prospects at Oxford generally; but this was not to be. After my arrival here I heard of his serious illness on Saturday and heard of his death on the following Monday, after his mortal remains had been consigned to the grave. I had thus not even the satisfaction of having followed them to their last resting-place. Dr. Peterson was our Secretary for several years, and I remember that after he assumed office he changed the appearance of these rooms and rendered them more attractive. He was also our President for three years. As he was the only scholar in Bombay who carried on original research the loss occasioned by his death cannot at least at present be made up, and not only on account of these special relations of the society to Dr. Peterson, but on account of the simple fact that he was a man who contributed to the advance of Sanskrit studies, it is but proper and fitting that this Society, the object of which is to promote such studies, should place on record its sense of the loss it has sustained by his premature death.

THE LATE MR. A. M. T. JACKSON, I. C. S.

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOL. XL, 1911, P. 1]

The diabolical murder of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, just as he was about to take up the joint Editorship of this *Journal*, sent a thrill of horror into the hearts of members of both the European and Indian communities throughout India. He was by nature a kind-hearted and sympathetic man, and these traits of character were observable in everything that he did both in his official and private capacity. His charities to poor Brahmans, both of Ratnagiri and Nasik, who needed help were unstinted. I know of one such Ratnagiri Brahman, who was given some nominal work in the library of the Bombay Asiatic Society and was paid regularly a monthly allowance from his private resources. He never spoke an angry or unkind work to anybody, and his general character and conduct were saintly. He was an accurate and enthusiastic Sanskrit scholar, and his critical judgment was sound. He made original researches into the ancient history of India, and the introductory volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer* and his other papers and occasional notes contain the results of these researches. He successfully identified the cities and towns in India mentioned by Greek and Roman authors. He pointed out that the Turkomans of Central Asia settled in the western part of India and adopted Hindu civilization. He also threw very great light on the origin of the Gujars. He showed that they were a foreign race that had established a powerful kingdom over the whole of Rajputana and further to the north-east up to Kanauj. The Gujars were in power from the first quarter of the seventh to about the end of the tenth century and were constantly at war with the princes of the Calukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa races that ruled over the Maratha and Kanarese countries. Mr. Jackson put forth a very original and correct idea as regards the nature of the *Purāṇas*, which awaited further development at his hands. His

paper on this subject has appeared in the centenary volume of the Bombay Asiatic Society, and will well repay perusal. He has also contributed several papers to the ordinary volumes of that *Journal*. His essay on 'Method in the Study of Indian Antiquities' shows a very wide knowledge, not only of epigraphy and numismatics, but also of a number of other lines of research. This is calculated to be of great use to Indian students; and he also projected for their use a handbook to the study of Sanskrit literature and Indian Antiquities. To sound scholarship Mr. Jackson added modesty and sobriety of thought and expression,— a combination rarely met with amongst scholars. He freely and fully acknowledged all the good that he found in the writings of native Indian scholars. He often complained that his official duties left him little time for his favourite studies, and I had great hopes that after his retirement from service he would be able to apply himself to them with zeal and ardour and to throw light upon many a knotty point in Sanskrit literature and Indian Antiquities. The loss that the horrid deed of a fiendish young man inflicted on the cause of Indian research is incalculable.

INDEXES

INDEX I

GENERAL INDEX

INDEX II*

INDEX OF SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT WORDS

* In this Index the following abbreviations are used: M. = Marathi, H. = Hindi, Ap. = Apabhraṁśa, G. = Gujarathi, P. = Panjabi, S. = Sindhi, B. = Bengali, O. = Oriya, Pr. = Prakrit and Skr. = Sanskrit.